"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

LATE EDITION

Today, mostly sunny, cooler, dry, high 70. Tonight, partly cloudy, low 54. Tomorrow, sunny to partly cloudy, near-average temperatures, high 74. Weather map, Page B5.

VOL. CLXXII .... No. 59,797 © 2023 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, TUESDAY, MAY 23, 2023 $4.00

TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A City Destroyed in Months of Fierce Fighting

Bakhmut, an eastern Ukrainian city that has come under Russian control, is now defined by scorched buildings, destroyed schools and cratered parks. Page A10.

TO SAVE A RIVER, 3 STATES AGREE TO CURTAIL USE

A CRISIS OVER WATER

Deal on the Colorado Delays a Reckoning in the West

By CHRISTOPHER FLAVELLE

WASHINGTON — Arizona, California and Nevada have agreed to take less water from the drought-strained Colorado River, a breakthrough agreement that, for now, keeps the river from falling so low that it would jeopardize water supplies for major Western cities like Phoenix and Los Angeles as well as for some of America's most productive farmland.

The agreement, announced Monday, calls for the federal government to pay about $1.2 billion to irrigation districts, cities and Native American tribes in the three states if they temporarily use less water. The states have also agreed to make additional cuts beyond the ones tied to the federal payments to generate the total reductions needed to prevent the collapse of the river.

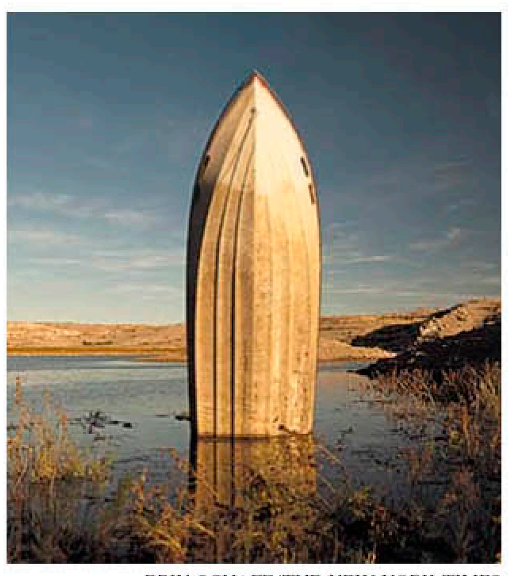
Taken together, those reductions would amount to about 13 percent of the total water use in the lower Colorado Basin — among the most aggressive cuts ever experienced in the region and ones likely to require significant water restrictions for residential and agriculture uses.

The Colorado River supplies drinking water to 40 million Americans in seven states as well as part of Mexico and irrigates 5.5 million acres of farmland. The electricity generated by dams on the river's two main reservoirs, Lake Mead and Lake Powell, powers millions of homes and businesses.

But drought, population growth and climate change have dropped the river's flows by one-third in recent years compared with historical averages, threatening to provoke a water and power catastrophe across the West.

California, Arizona and Nevada get their share of water from Lake Mead, which is formed by the Col-

Continued on Page A15



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A formerly submerged boat at Lake Mead, a major reservoir.

Spying Scandal In Mexico Goes Right to the Top

By NATALIE KITROEFF and RONEN BERGMAN

MEXICO CITY — He is a longtime friend of the president, a close political ally for decades who is now the government's top human rights official.

And he has been spied on, repeatedly.

Alejandro Encinas, Mexico's under secretary for human rights, was targeted with Pegasus, the world's most notorious spyware, while investigating abuses by the nation's military, according to four people who spoke with him about the hack and an independent forensic analysis that confirmed it.

Mexico has long been shaken by spying scandals. But this is the first confirmed case of such a senior member of an administration — let alone someone so close to the president — being surveilled by Pegasus in more than a decade of the spy tool's use in the country.

The attacks on Mr. Encinas, which have not been reported previously, seriously undercut President Andrés Manuel López Obrador's pledge to end what he has called the "illegal" spying of the past. They're also a clear sign of how freewheeling the surveillance in Mexico has become, when no one, not even the president's allies, appears to be off limits.

Pegasus is licensed only to government agencies, and though there's no definitive proof which one carried out the hack of Mr. Encinas's phone, the military is the only entity in Mexico that has access to the spyware, according to five people familiar with the

Continued on Page A6

After a Year of Agony, Uvalde Is Fractured

Feelings of Raw Grief and Rifts Over Police and Gun Laws

By EDGAR SANDOVAL and J. DAVID GOODMAN

UVALDE, Texas — At a school board meeting this month in Uvalde, Texas, parents and administrators found themselves locked in what had become a familiar argument: Nearly a year had passed since a gunman breached Robb Elementary School and killed 19 children and two teachers. The community was still waiting for officials to fully disclose how it happened.

"Almost a year now, and honestly nothing has changed," Jesse Rizo, the uncle of one of the massacre victims, told the board. "These people are pretty much begging you guys to answer questions. You came here and you pretty much oppress people. They ask you questions, you don't have answers."

Despite the passage of time, there is still strong disagreement over who should be fired for the slow police response to one of the worst school shootings in American history, and what position the town should take on the repeated calls from families of the victims to restrict guns. Neighbors who have known each other for years now find themselves unable to agree and more distant than ever before.

"We used to be a close community," Mr. Rizo said after the school board meeting on May 15. "Now it's like we don't know each other anymore."

United in grief in the weeks after the shooting that ignited a national firestorm over how the police respond to mass shootings, Uvalde in the painful months since then has drifted apart, dividing along fault lines that barely existed a year ago.

The fissures run deep and remain raw: between the victims' relatives lobbying for stricter gun laws, and neighbors who have long been avid hunters and gun owners and bristle at any new restrictions; between supporters of the police, who are the subject of a

Continued on Page A16

TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Berlinda Arreola, left, lost her step-granddaughter Amerie Jo Garza in the school massacre.

Bakhmut Falls To the Kremlin. What Is Won?

By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ and MARC SANTORA

It took the Kremlin almost a year and cost the lives of thousands of soldiers to capture Bakhmut, but now that Russian forces appear to have control of the Ukrainian city, it is fair to question the value of what they have gained.

Russia's state news media has been triumphalist. One news anchor declared "mission accomplished" over the weekend in a segment that quoted a Russian fighter who compared the seizure of Bakhmut to the Soviet Union's capture of Berlin in 1945.

By taking Bakhmut, Russia has made its most significant territorial advance since last summer, one that Moscow will try to cast to the Russian people as a sign of military prowess on the battlefield after months of embarrassing setbacks. With his government setting the narrative of the war for a domestic audience, President Vladimir V. Putin has largely hidden its costs, including in Bakhmut, from the Russian people.

A top Ukrainian official, Hanna Maliar, a deputy defense minister, essentially acknowledged on Monday that the eastern city had

Continued on Page A12

U.S. Employers Look to Britain For 'Menopause-Friendly' Ideas

By SHARON OTTERMAN

In the last few years, managers at Nvidia, the global computer graphics company, began hearing a new kind of complaint: Some of their female employees were struggling with hot flashes, fatigue and brain fog — common symptoms of the menopause transition — and their regular doctors weren't offering guidance or relief.

"They came to us and said, 'Who do I go to?'" Denise Rosa, the company's head of U.S. medical programs, said. "They were like, 'We have fertility support, we have egg freezing, we have surrogacy and adoption. What about me?'"

Some women's health concerns, like fertility struggles and postpartum depression, have already been acknowledged as issues that employers can address. But until recently, discussing the symptoms of menopause and perimenopause, the yearslong stretch that precedes the end of a woman's reproductive years, was largely taboo.

That is beginning to change. A new movement to create "menopause-friendly work-

Continued on Page A17

He Freed an Innocent Man From Prison, and It Ruined His Life

A Private Investigator's Downward Spiral

By ED SHANAHAN

Flashes flashed and shutters snapped as an exuberant crowd focused its attention on Martin Tankleff.

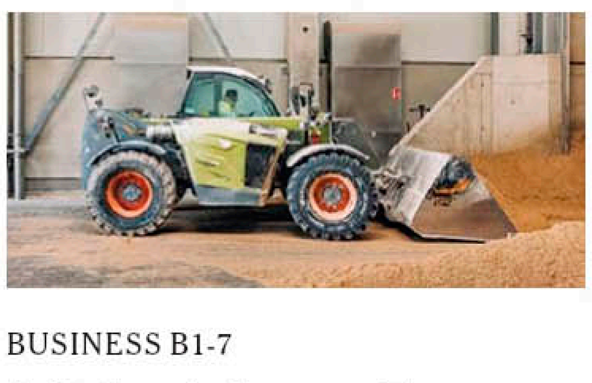
It was Dec. 27, 2007, a few days after a New York appeals court had overturned Mr. Tankleff's conviction in the vicious killings of his parents at their waterfront mansion. Now, surrounded by lawyers, aunts, uncles, cousins and friends at a Long Island courthouse, he was a free man after nearly 20 years in prison.

Standing just behind him in the celebratory throng was a beefy man in a dark suit and red tie: Jay Salpeter, a former New York City police detective turned private investigator who had done as much as, perhaps more than, anyone to make the happy occasion possible.

"I'm letting you know you'll never get rid of me for life since you've given me my life back," Mr. Tankleff wrote to Mr. Salpeter the day the conviction was set aside.

Fourteen years later, Mr. Salpeter, leaner and grayer, was in a Long Island courthouse again, his face behind a blue surgical mask because of the Covid-19 pandemic. He was handcuffed and charged with felonies in connec-

Continued on Page A19



BUSINESS B1-7

A Refiner's Greener Future

A Swiss provider of gasoline sees a path to carbon-neutral energy in farm waste. Above, grain used for biogas. PAGE B1

Meta Fined $1.3 Billion

The company was penalized for violating European Union data protection rules. It said it would appeal. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A14-19, 22

Scott Enters G.O.P. Race

The South Carolina senator brings a positive theme and much cash on hand to a growing field trying to make headway against Donald J. Trump. PAGE A14

Another Debt-Deal Meeting

President Biden and Speaker Kevin McCarthy remained far apart in ending a partisan stalemate. PAGE A18

SPORTS B8-9

'Racism Is Normal in La Liga'

The soccer star Vinícius Júnior denounced Spain and its top league after fans used abusive language. PAGE B8

ARTS C1-6

Sharing a Pride of Place

Lesley Lokko's pointedly political Venice Architecture Biennale positions Africa as a powerful force. PAGE C1

Art's Legal Boundaries

After a court ruling on Andy Warhol's use of a photo, another major copyright case is being litigated. PAGE C1

INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Biden Sees 'Thaw' With China

During last weekend's Group of 7 meeting, the president rallied allies to protect their supply chains from Beijing, even as he claimed that U.S.-China tensions were softening. PAGE A6

Not Above Romania's Laws

The influencer Andrew Tate, popular with young men, is facing charges of human trafficking and rape in a country where he claimed "corruption is accessible to everybody." PAGE A4

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David Brooks PAGE A20

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Still Looking for Answers

An area of Colombia has an unusually high number of people suffering from Huntington's disease. Scientists have renewed efforts to find out why. PAGE D1

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The New York Times

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TODAY'S PAPER

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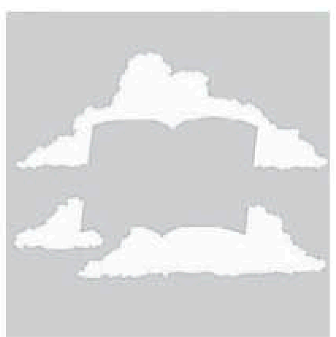

AUDIO The latest playlist from Times pop music critics features a new track from Blur about the disillusions of fame, along with recordings by Bad Bunny, Sparks, Anohni and the Johnsons and more. Listen at *nytimes.com/music.*

TRAVEL As a child, the director and performer Lin-Manuel Miranda spent a month every summer in Puerto Rico visiting his grandparents. The Travel section offers his five favorite places to visit in and around San Juan, including Cerro Gordo Beach. *nytimes.com/travel*

QUIZ The Book Review's new Quiz Bowl focuses on a novelist who won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2017 and has had several works adapted for film and television. Test your knowledge of the author at *nytimes.com/books.*

Quote of the Day

"We used to be a close community. Now it's like we don't know each other anymore."

JESSE RIZO, *the uncle of one of the victims killed at Robb Elementary School in Uvalde, Texas, one year ago. Page A1.*

The Story Behind the Story

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARK ABRAMSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A group of migrants near the makeshift camp in Jacumba Hot Springs was transported to an immigration detention facility for processing.

Scenes From a Migrant Camp in Southern California

A large camp emerged this month in Jacumba Hot Springs, a town in the eastern San Diego desert.

By SOUMYA KARLAMANGLA

A staggering number of migrants converged this month at the United States-Mexico border, making treacherous and costly journeys from countries all over the world, flooding shelters and sleeping on sidewalks in the hope of gaining legal entry into the United States. The surge was prompted by the much-anticipated end of Title 42, a pandemic-era federal policy that allowed the authorities to swiftly expel migrants from the country. The influx has lessened somewhat in the last few days, but not before filling several makeshift migrant camps that have sprung up along the 2,000-mile southern border, including in California.

After reporting from a makeshift migrant village in the southernmost section of San Diego, Mark Abramson, a photographer on assignment for The New York Times, drove about an hour eastward to photograph the makeshift migrant camp in Jacumba Hot Springs, a town of roughly 500 people in the eastern San Diego desert.

Several hundred migrants who had crossed onto U.S. soil gathered there in the arid wilderness, sleeping outdoors and relying largely on volunteers for water, food and protection from the chilly nights and blazing hot days.

"I went in with the volunteers, and the very first thing I saw was a man passed out, possibly going into heat stroke," said Mark, who photographed the camp for two days.

His stunning images, some of which we are sharing here, show migrants fashioning tents out of tree branches, making bonfires to stave off the nighttime cold and being handcuffed as the authorities took them into detention.

This article originally appeared in the California Today newsletter. To subscribe, visit nytimes.com/newsletters.

Migrants, from countries such as Colombia, Brazil, Peru, India, Vietnam and Uzbekistan, gathered around the bed of a volunteer's pickup truck to charge their cellphones.

With many nations still reeling from economic damage caused by the coronavirus pandemic, migrants from all over the world come to the United States in search of jobs and safety.

Today's Top Trending Headlines

A Breakthrough Deal to Keep the Colorado River From Going Dry, For Now Arizona, California and Nevada have agreed to take less water from the drought-strained Colorado River in a vital agreement that will prevent water supply issues in major cities like Los Angeles and Phoenix and some of America's most productive farmland. A senior official at the Interior Department who was involved in the negotiations described the terms of the deal to The Times.

Meta Fined $1.3 Billion for Violating E.U. Data Privacy Rules Meta was fined a record 1.2 billion euros ($1.3 billion) and ordered to stop transferring data collected from Facebook users in Europe to the United States. Adam Satariano, a technology correspondent based in London, wrote that the penalty is one of the most consequential in the five years since the European Union enacted the landmark data privacy law known as the General Data Protection Regulation.

Uber's Diversity Chief Put on Leave After Complaints Of Insensitivity Uber has placed its head of diversity, equity and inclusion on leave after workers complained that an employee event she moderated, titled "Don't Call Me Karen," was insensitive to people of color. Workers felt that they were being lectured on the difficulties experienced by white women and that the executive was dismissive of their concerns, according to internal messages viewed by The Times.

For Diners With Deep Pockets, Dallas Is the New Dubai Priya Krishna visited Dallas, where the city's booming economy has attracted luxury restaurants from other places. In a sea of new and popular restaurants — including Nusr-Et, the Salt Bae steakhouse — Ms. Krishna asks: Is this trend a good thing for Dallas's local cuisine?

A Headline From History

MOORE'S 'FAHRENHEIT 9/11' WINS TOP HONORS AT CANNES

May 23, 2004. The jury at the 57th Cannes Film Festival awards ceremony gave "'Fahrenheit 9/11,' " Michael Moore's stinging critique of the Bush administration's foreign policies, the Palme d'Or, the festival's top prize and one of the most coveted honors in international cinema," The Times wrote. The announcement, made by the jury president Quentin Tarantino, was met with cheers from the audience in the Grand Théâtre Lumière, where the screening of the film had received one of the longest standing ovations ever at Cannes. The win was especially surprising since Cannes is notoriously indifferent to documentaries, A. O. Scott wrote. "Fahrenheit 9/11," which opened in more than 800 theaters in June 2004, took in nearly $24 million on its first weekend and became one of the highest-grossing documentaries of all time.

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Facts of Interest

About one in five American adults experience chronic pain, which is persistent or recurrent pain that lasts longer than three months.

Study Locates Brain Activity That Signifies Chronic Pain A17

According to the latest Federal Reserve survey of Americans' financial well-being, 35 percent said they were worse off in 2022 than they were a year earlier, the highest share in the nine years the question has been asked.

Fed Survey Indicates Inflation Is Taking a Toll on Americans B3

The top reason for moving, especially among people 75 and older, is to live closer to family members, according to a survey published in the Journal of the American Planning Association last year.

Relocating Is a Monumental Task For Many Seniors D3

Romania ranks far below most fellow members of the European Union in clean-government rankings. In last year's Corruption Perceptions Index from Transparency International, only Bulgaria and Hungary ranked lower.

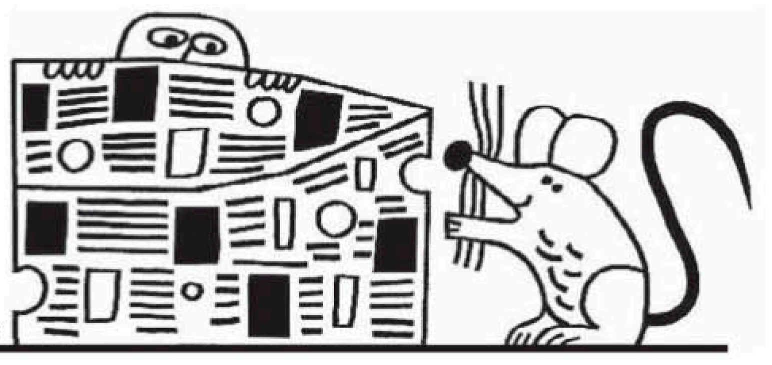
An Influencer Thought He Was Above The Law. Romania Proved Him Wrong. A4

Carmelo Anthony, who announced his retirement from the N.B.A. on Monday, ended his career with 28,289 points, ninth most in league history. He made the All-N.B.A. team six times.

Anthony Retires After 19 Seasons And 28,289 Points B9

In 2016, a survey of 363 listeners found that emotional responses to sad songs fell roughly into three categories: grief, melancholia and sweet sorrow. Many respondents described a mix of the three.

Sad Songs Say So Much About Connection D3



MARCUS OAKLEY

Reader Corner

Learning Network: Current Events Conversation

The Learning Network recently asked students: What is the best thing about being your age? If you could wave a magic wand and turn into an adult, would you? Not even for a split-second, they wrote. Read some of their responses below; comments have been lightly edited for length, but otherwise appear as they were originally submitted.

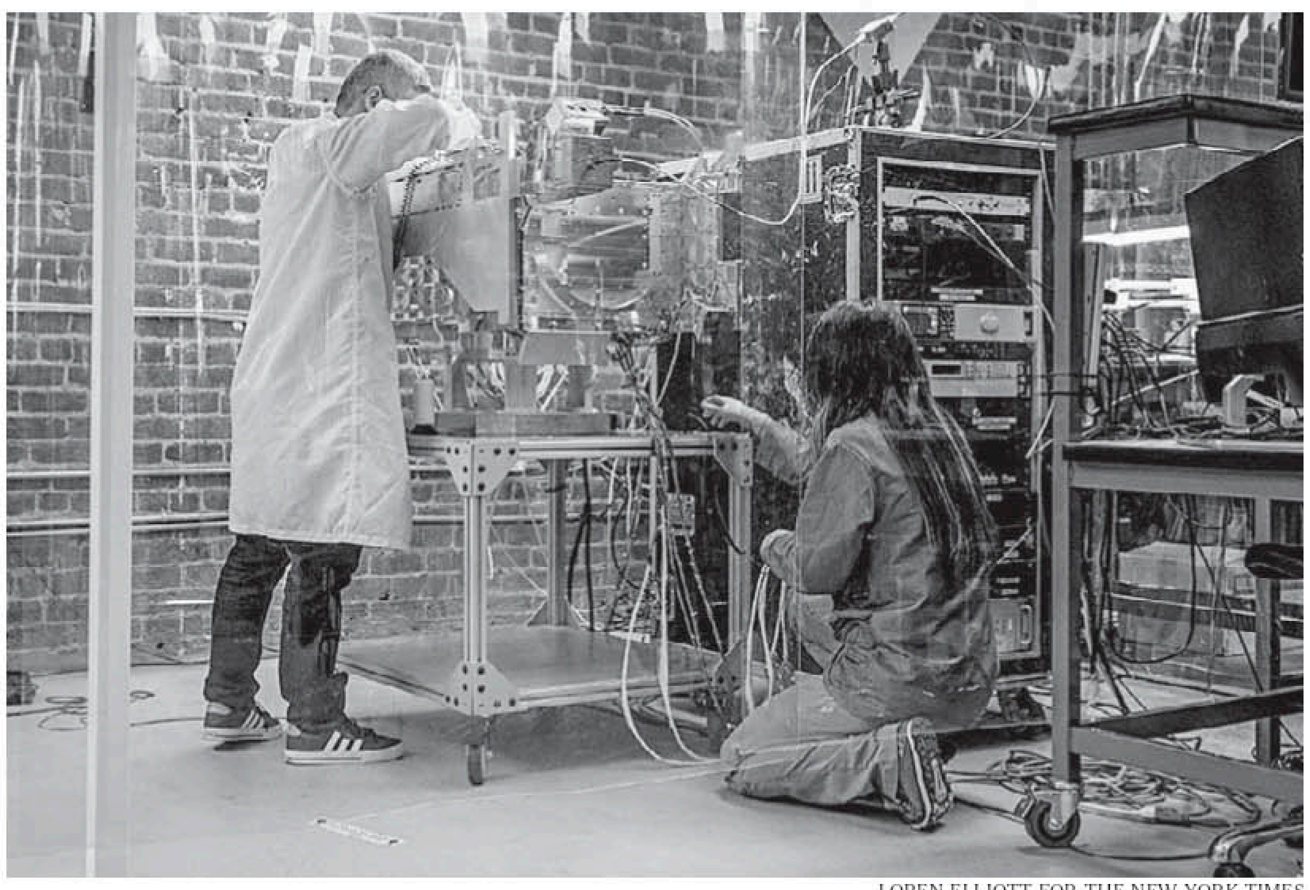
I am 15 years old. From my perspective, the best thing I can do at my age is to spend time with friends regularly. As an adult, it can become challenging to maintain social connections due to job responsibilities and workload. . . . Personally, I am not ready to transition into adulthood yet. I believe this is a remarkable time in my life, and I want to cherish it while it lasts.
— PAU, SANT GREGORI, SPAIN

The best thing about being my age is the chaos. I like the hustle and rhythm of a typical busy day as a high schooler. I know most would see this as exhausting, but you must take advantage of the time in your youth, for it is the most valuable thing in life.
— EVERETT, NEW JERSEY

I think the best thing about being my age is knowing you can make mistakes.
— ANNIKA, GLENBARD WEST HIGH SCHOOL

From the Feeds

What Times Journalists Are Posting Across Social Media



LOREN ELLIOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Capella Space, a start-up, is developing small satellites that can track enemy troops at night.

Small, fast-moving U.S. companies are using the war in Ukraine to demonstrate a new generation of innovative military technology. But these firms face the challenge of selling this tech to a risk-averse Department of Defense. Eric Lipton, an investigative journalist at The Times, recently reported on the topic and shared notes on Twitter; read an edited excerpt from his thread below.

A technological revolution is underway in warfighting. It is a very big deal. The leading edge of this shift is on display now in Ukraine, even as 20th century weapons are handling the bulk of the fight. Who wins and who loses future wars is at stake.

The Pentagon is struggling to figure out how to rapidly acquire these new warfighting and surveillance tools. It's stuck with a 1950s era contracting system built around giant prime contractors that generally don't innovate as fast as Silicon Valley types.

What Ukraine has shown — and folks at the Pentagon are watching this very closely — is this new tech can make a big difference. Like "loitering munitions," attack drones and commercial SAR satellites that can see in darkness and through clouds.

Again, this is a very big deal. The Pentagon has been funding these disruptive start-up tech companies with innovation grants and seed funding, but the Defense Department has struggled to find a way to buy these commercial products at a large scale.

Folks inside the Defense Department — and outside the Pentagon — know this is a challenge the U.S. military must confront, to innovate faster. The open question is how quickly the Pentagon figures out the path-way forward.

This story is part of an ongoing examination by The Times to report on the challenges the Defense Department faces in an era of rising threats from China and Russia, technological change and cultural adaptation issues, like how hard it is to retire legacy assets such as ships that don't work.

Follow Mr. Lipton on Twitter @EricLiptonNYT.

The Mini Crossword

■	1	2	3	4
5				
6				
7				
8			■	■

5/23/2023 BY JOEL FAGLIANO

ACROSS
1 Slightly open
5 Part of a drum kit
6 Begin to take off, as a jacket
7 Stage name of Melissa Viviane Jefferson
8 Command or Caps Lock

DOWN
1 ___ Murphy, portrayer of Alexis on "Schitt's Creek"
2 Musical adjective worth 23 points in Scrabble
3 Tucson's state: Abbr.
4 Bank take-back
5 Be in one's feelings

SOLUTION TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

■	■	R	O	E
■	R	O	W	S
R	O	S	E	S
I	B	I	S	■
M	E	N	■	■

Here to Help

A Recipe for Sheet-Pan Garlicky Shrimp and White Beans

Everything — the shrimp, the beans and the garlic bread — cook together on one pan for an under-30-minute meal that requires little cleanup. Canned cannellini beans get a little crispy in the high heat, and their creaminess serves to bring the other ingredients together, but you could use any cooked beans. The only real bit of work is making a pungent paste of garlic to spread on the bread. But if you are pressed for time, just rub each piece of bread with the cut side of a garlic clove. (The flavor will be milder.) **SARAH DiGREGORIO**

TIME: 25 MINUTES
YIELD: 4 SERVINGS

- **5 large garlic cloves**
- **Coarse kosher salt (such as Morton)**
- **8 ounces crusty bread, preferably dry or stale, cut into 1- to 1½-inch thick slices, halved if large**
- **1 pound large, shelled and deveined shrimp, tails on or off (fresh or defrosted)**
- **5 slices of bacon (about 4 ounces), sliced into matchsticks**
- **1 (15-ounce) can cannellini beans, drained**
- **½ small lemon, very thinly sliced**
- **1 teaspoon red-pepper flakes**
- **½ teaspoon black pepper**
- **⅓ cup extra-virgin olive oil**

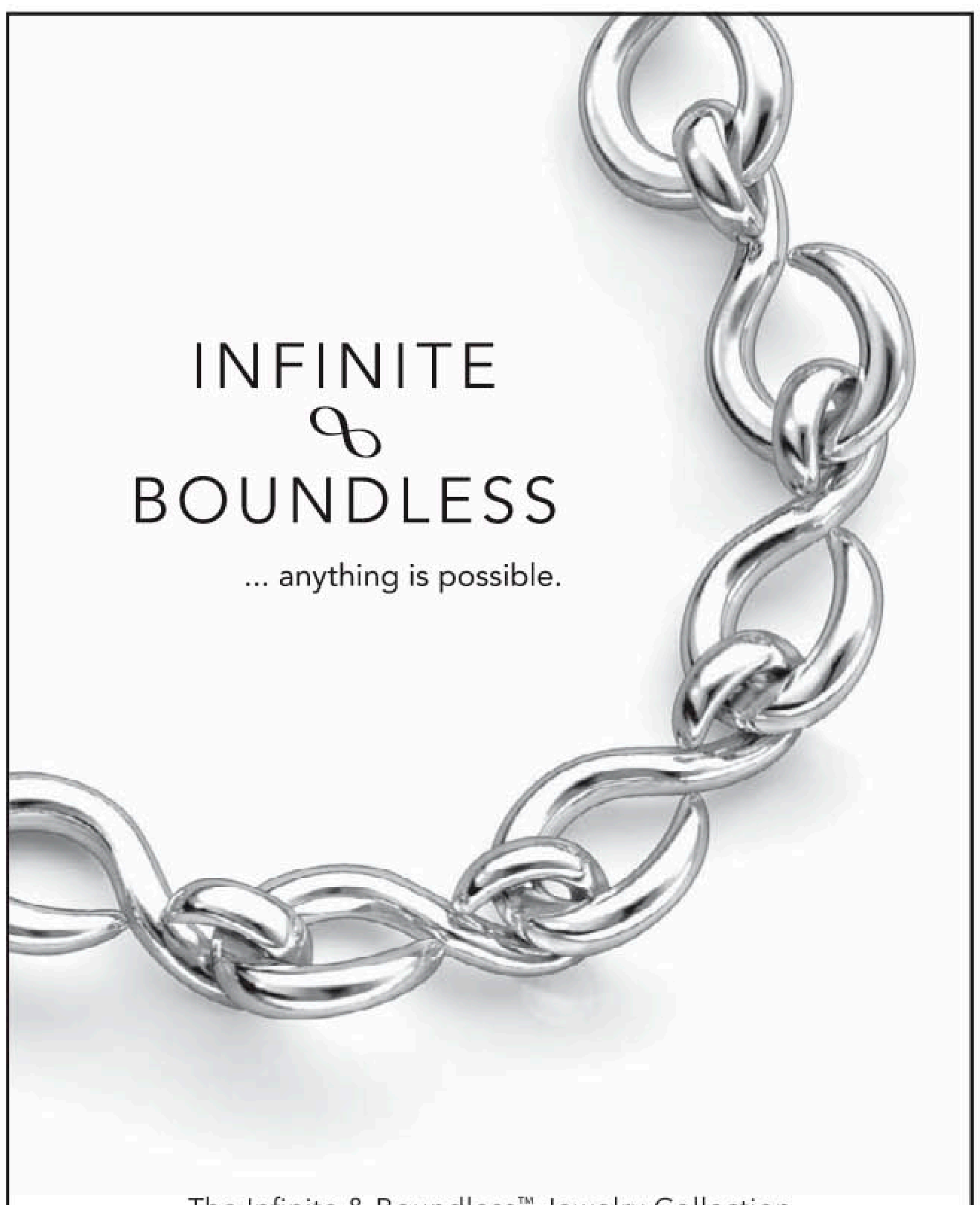
1. Heat the oven to 450 degrees. Finely chop the garlic, and run the flat of the knife over the garlic bits to smash them. Sprinkle a generous pinch of salt over the garlic and continue to chop and smash, until the garlic is a coarse paste. Spread the paste on one side of each piece of bread, then rub the unseasoned side of the bread over the cutting board to wipe up any remaining garlic. Put the bread into a large mixing bowl.

DAVID MALOSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
FOOD STYLIST: SIMON ANDREWS

2. Add the shrimp, bacon, beans, lemon, red pepper, black pepper, ½ teaspoon salt and the olive oil to the bowl. Fold to evenly combine. Pour everything onto a parchment-lined sheet pan and spread out evenly.

3. Roast until the shrimp are curled and pink and the bread is golden and toasted around the edges, 14 to 15 minutes. Serve in shallow bowls.

For more recipes, visit New York Times Cooking at nytcooking.com.



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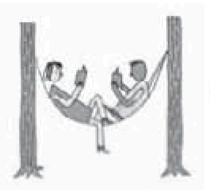
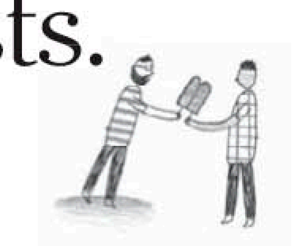


The joys. The tribulations. The twists.



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International

The New York Times

An Influencer Thought He Was Above the Law. Romania Proved Him Wrong.

INQUAM PHOTOS, VIA REUTERS

Andrew Tate, left, and his brother Tristan outside court in Bucharest. They are under house arrest.

ANDREEA CAMPEANU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Tate home in the town of Voluntari. Charges against them include human trafficking and rape.

By ANDREW HIGGINS

BUCHAREST, Romania — Andrew Tate, a pugilistic online influencer and self-crowned "king of toxic masculinity," never made any secret of why he had chosen Romania as his home and business base.

"I like living in a society where my money, my influence and my power mean that I'm not below or beholden" to any laws, Mr. Tate told his fans.

But, like much of what the former kickboxer has told his millions of mostly young male followers on social media — including claims that he is a trillionaire and has 19 passports — Mr. Tate's proclamation of faith in Romania as a risk-free haven for antisocial behavior reflected more fantasy than reality.

The Romanian authorities arrested Mr. Tate, a citizen of both the United States and Britain, and his younger brother, Tristan, in December on charges of human trafficking, rape and forming an organized criminal group. Held for three months in a jail in Bucharest, the capital, both men, who deny any wrongdoing, are now under house arrest, awaiting trial.

Their home is a sprawling compound down a dingy dead-end street in Voluntari, a town next to Bucharest that is dotted with shiny new office towers and derelict empty lots. It looks more like an industrial warehouse than the lair of a man who boasted of immense wealth and posted videos of himself hanging out in private jets with beautiful women and driving fast cars.

The high-end cars that once crowded the courtyard, including a Rolls-Royce, a Porsche, an Aston Martin and a BMW, are all gone, confiscated by the Romanian authorities. The only vehicle left is a clunky Russian Lada. It was not worth impounding.

Romania still ranks far below most fellow members of the European Union in clean-government rankings. In last year's Corruption Perceptions Index from Transparency International, only Bulgaria and Hungary were lower. And Romania, according to the State Department's 2022 report on human trafficking, remains "a primary source country for sex trafficking" in Europe.

But Romania has in recent years made a serious effort to tackle the endemic graft and general lawlessness that long blighted the country — and that apparently attracted Mr. Tate. Before his arrest, he said he liked "living in countries where corruption is accessible to everybody," and where anybody can pay a $50 bribe to get out of a speeding ticket.

Eugen Vidineac, the Romanian lawyer defending Mr. Tate, said that his client had "said many stupid things," but that after his arrest, "he stopped thinking about Romania being so corrupt."

Since Mr. Tate established Romania as his base around 2016, the country's anti-trafficking agency has expanded its staff and launched a messaging blitz on billboards, television and online, warning women against "lover boys," traffickers who use seduction as a recruiting technique. Mr. Tate is accused of using this tactic to lure vulnerable women to his compound to perform in sex videos online.

The State Department report said that while Romania did "not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking," it was "making significant efforts to do so."

It cited legal changes, a sharp increase in the number of prosecutions for trafficking, stepped up cooperation with other European countries and the establishment in 2021 of a dedicated unit to combat sex trafficking by Romania's Organized Crime and Terrorism Investigation Directorate, the agency leading the investigation into Mr. Tate.

The directorate last year opened 1,246 new trafficking investigations, double the number in 2021.

Monica Boseff, the president of the Open Door Foundation, a private group that runs a shelter for women fleeing the sex trade, said that Mr. Tate was "not the only misogynist making creepy statements on social media related to women." But she said he had "miscalculated" in his belief that anything goes in Romania.

"We still have big problems that we need to solve, but there has been real improvement and we finally have hope" that the abuse and exploitation of women are slowly being seen by society and officials as crimes, Ms. Boseff said.

For Silvia Tabusca, a law lecturer at the Romanian-American University in Bucharest who has worked with prosecutors on trafficking cases, Mr. Tate's big mistake was not so much that he misjudged Romania's changing legal and social climate, but that he included a young American woman among his alleged victims.

Without pressure from the United States to investigate Mr. Tate, Ms. Tabusca said, "I'm not sure Romanian prosecutors would ever have touched him."

The United States Embassy in Bucharest, citing "privacy considerations," had no comment on whether the American authorities had intervened on behalf of a U.S. citizen. The Romanian agency leading the investigation also declined to comment.

Like Ms. Tabusca, Mr. Tate's lawyer attributed what he described as the unexpected zeal of the Romanian authorities against his client to American intervention, which he said had begun last year after the mother of a young woman from Florida started worrying that Mr. Tate had taken her daughter captive and asked the State Department to do something.

The mother's appeal, the lawyer said, led the American authorities to request help from Romania and prompted the opening of a criminal investigation in April last year — soon after the daughter told her mother that she was in Romania and living in Mr. Tate's compound. Investigators bugged the compound, tapped his telephone, and monitored his movements and online communications.

The details of what they found are still secret and, according to the lawyer, who has access to the case file, provide no evidence of criminal wrongdoing, only of debauchery. "My client's problem," he said, "is his lifestyle. But lifestyle is not a crime. What matters is what is illegal, not what is immoral."

Mr. Tate, for his part, offered a characteristically melodramatic explanation for his arrest. A day after armed police officers stormed his compound, he told his followers on Twitter, who now number 6.6 million, that "the matrix sent their agents." The "matrix" is Mr. Tate's catchall designation for what he sees as a conspiracy by "woke" corporate elites, mainstream politicians and feminists to emasculate men.

Prosecutors accuse Mr. Tate of luring women to his compound and then putting them to work under duress as performers on pornographic webcams. The lawyer said that Mr. Tate's residence had no webcam studios and that his client had never coerced anyone into staying or working there. The Tate brothers, he said, "are famous; they are rich; they are young and beautiful," adding: "What would be their interest in forcing women to act as slaves?"

The only people living in the compound, the lawyer said, were the brothers and their various girlfriends. He acknowledged that some of the women had appeared in videos released by Mr. Tate, but said they had done so of their own free will in the hope that this would help them gain followers on social media. "He never took money from the girls," the lawyer said.

The now defunct website for one of Mr. Tate's business ventures — an online academy offering a "Ph.D. Program" in "techniques for getting girls" — gave a different story. It boasted that Mr. Tate "owns and operates strip clubs and webcam studios" and has "TOP QUALITY women living with him and making him money full time."

The sales pitch for the program, which charged more than $400 for enrollment, promised to teach students "how to build an army of women who are so loyal to you that they allow you to have as many girls as you want."

Two women whom prosecutors described as victims have insisted that they associated with Mr. Tate of their own accord and were not coerced. A clinical psychologist's report prepared as part of the case said they had been brainwashed into believing they had a genuine romantic relationship with Mr. Tate.

Ms. Boseff, the Open Door Foundation head, said that most of the more than 1,200 women who had passed through her group's shelter over the past decade had been entrapped by traffickers masquerading as "lover boys," and often felt affection and loyalty to them despite being pushed into working as prostitutes.

Mr. Tate, she said, understood that "everybody craves to be loved, to be cared for and to hear words of encouragement" — needs that can make young women who have turbulent home lives particularly vulnerable to exploitation.

Statistics compiled by the anti-trafficking agency show that 74 percent of victims are recruited by acquaintances, friends, neighbors or even relatives.

Since his release from jail into house arrest at the end of March, Mr. Tate has recast himself as a philanthropist, claiming that he has set up a shelter for dogs, rebuilt a Romanian orphanage and is "going to save the world."

Unconvinced by his newfound commitment to good works, a Bucharest court on Friday extended the Tate brothers' house arrest for another month.

"Romania is not as corrupt as Tate had thought and hoped," said Mihaela Dragus, a police officer with Romania's National Agency Against Trafficking in Persons.

Delia Marinescu contributed reporting.

ANDREEA CAMPEANU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ANDREEA CAMPEANU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Monica Boseff, the president of the Open Door Foundation, a private group that runs a shelter for women fleeing the sex trade, said Mr. Tate had "miscalculated" in his belief that anything goes in Romania. Right, a Bucharest street.

Turkey's 3rd-Place Finisher to Support Erdogan in the Presidential Runoff Election

By BEN HUBBARD and GULSIN HARMAN

ISTANBUL — The candidate who came in third in Turkey's presidential election last week announced on Monday that he was endorsing President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in the runoff vote on Sunday, granting Mr. Erdogan an additional boost against his remaining challenger.

Mr. Erdogan, the dominant figure in Turkish politics for 20 years, appears to have an edge in the runoff, whose victor will shape Turkey's domestic and foreign policies for the next five years. Throughout the campaign, Mr. Erdogan aimed to link himself in voters' minds with the image of a strong Turkey, with expanding military might and geopolitical clout.

Although most polls in the run-up to the initial vote on May 14 showed Mr. Erdogan trailing his main challenger, the opposition leader Kemal Kilicdaroglu, the president overcame voter anger at high inflation and frustration with the government's initially slow response to catastrophic earthquakes in February to win 49.5 percent of the vote.

Mr. Kilicdaroglu, the joint candidate of a coalition of six opposition parties that came together to try to unseat Mr. Erdogan, won 44.9 percent.

In his campaign, Mr. Kilicdaroglu vowed to undo Mr. Erdogan's legacy, which he said had damaged the economy and pushed the country away from democracy and toward one-man rule.

The third-place candidate, Sinan Ogan, is a far-right nationalist who defied expectations to win 5.2 percent of the vote, preventing either of the top contenders from winning the simple majority that would have granted instant victory.

Sinan Ogan

In an interview with The New York Times after the first-round results were released last week, Mr. Ogan said he was negotiating with figures on both sides of the political divide to decide whom to endorse for the runoff.

He said he was seeking to ensure that the winning candidate adopts nationalist causes, including a scheduled plan to deport millions of refugees and a refusal to cooperate with pro-Kurdish and hardline Islamist parties that he considers connected to terrorism.

In exchange for his endorsement, Mr. Ogan said he wanted a senior post in the new administration, such as vice president.

But it remains unclear whether his support will deliver many voters. Mr. Ogan has no significant party apparatus to mobilize his backers, and in the eight days since the election, his hard-right electoral alliance has broken apart.

Political analysts said that many voters who chose him in the first round probably did so to protest the top two contenders and so might not vote at all in the runoff.

Mr. Erdogan met with Mr. Ogan on Friday, but neither man released details of what was discussed. That same day, Mr. Erdogan said in an interview with CNN that he did not want to bargain with Mr. Ogan.

"I am not a person who likes to negotiate in such a manner," Mr. Erdogan said. "It will be the people who are the kingmakers."

In announcing his endorsement of Mr. Erdogan at a news conference on Monday, Mr. Ogan said nothing of any agreement the men had reached but characterized his impact on the election as a victory for far-right causes.

"We uplifted Turkish nationalists to a key role," he said, listing the major issues facing Turkey as refugees, earthquake preparedness, the economy and the fight against terrorism.

"We recommend that those who belittle our voters watch our work more closely," he said, apparently referring to a change in rhetoric by the opposition after far-right figures such as himself did better in the election than expected.

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Biden Foresees 'Thaw' With China, Even as G7 Rattles Beijing

By PETER BAKER and DAVID E. SANGER

HIROSHIMA, Japan — President Biden and his allies spent much of the Group of 7 summit in Hiroshima, Japan, announcing new arms packages for Ukraine, including a pathway to providing F-16 fighter planes. They spent hours discussing strategy with President Volodymyr Zelensky for the next phase of a hot war started by Russia.

So it was easy to miss Mr. Biden's prediction on Sunday of a coming "thaw" in relations with Beijing, as both sides move beyond what he called the "silly" Chinese act of sending a giant surveillance balloon over the United States, only the most recent in a series of incidents that have fueled what seems like a descent toward confrontation.

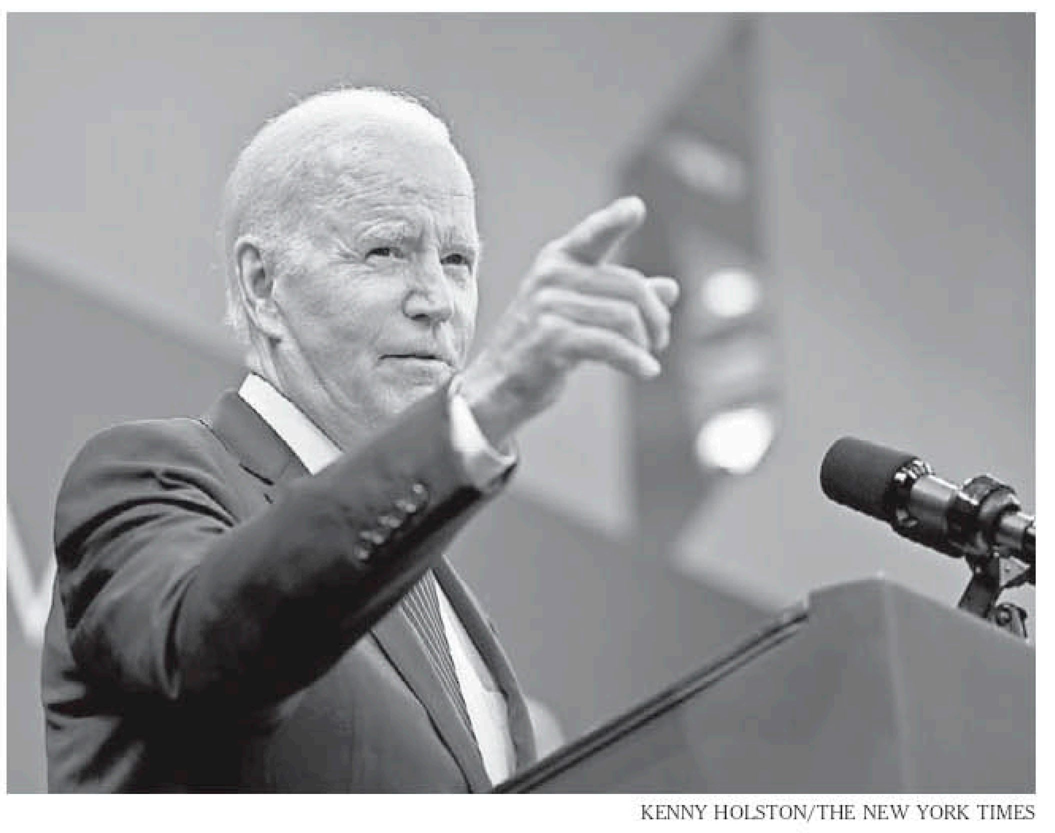
It is far too early to say whether the president's optimism is based on the quiet signals he has received in behind-the-scenes meetings with the Chinese government in recent weeks.

Mr. Biden's own aides see a struggle underway in China between factions that want to restart the economic relationship with the United States and a far more powerful group that aligns with President Xi Jinping's emphasis on national security over economic growth. As this weekend showed, China is enormously sensitive to any suggestion that the West is organizing a challenge to Beijing's growing influence and power.

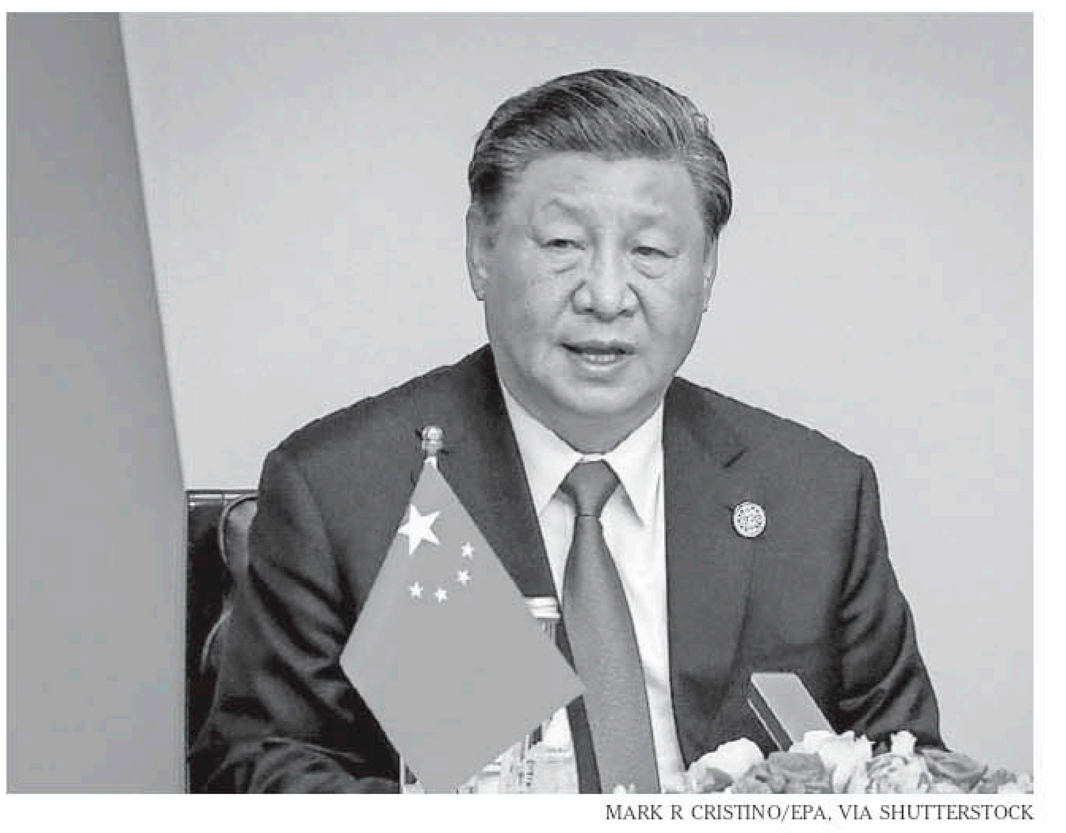
So if Mr. Biden is right, it may take awhile for the ice to melt.

Facing a new, unified set of principles from the major Western allies and Japan on how to protect their supply chains and their key technology from Beijing — contained in the meeting's final communiqué — China erupted in outrage.

Beijing denounced what it portrayed as a cabal seeking to isolate and weaken Chinese power. The Japanese ambassador to Beijing was called in for a reaming out, and China moved to ban products from Micron Technology, an American chip maker, on the grounds that its products posed a security risk to the Chinese public. It seemed like exactly the kind of "economic coercion" the world leaders had just vowed to resist.



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES



MARK R CRISTINO/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

President Biden and others vowed to protect their supply chains and technology from China. Xi Jinping's government lashed out.

Mr. Biden often says he has no desire to see a new Cold War begin with China. And he points out that the economic interdependencies between Beijing and the West are so complex that the dynamic between the two countries is entirely different from what it was when he was delving into foreign policy for the first time as a newly elected senator, 50 years ago.

The harmony in Hiroshima over developing a common approach, and the blasts from Beijing that followed, suggested that Mr. Biden had made progress on one of his top foreign policy priorities despite underlying tension among the allies. Rather than dwell on their disagreements, the leaders of the major industrial democracies lined up their approach to China in a way that Beijing clearly saw as potentially threatening, some analysts noted after the meeting.

"One indication that Washington would be pleased is that Beijing is so displeased," said Michael Fullilove, the executive director of the Lowy Institute, a research group in Sydney, Australia.

Matthew Pottinger, a deputy national security adviser to President Donald J. Trump and the architect of that administration's approach to China, agreed. "The fact Beijing was so touchy about the G7 statements is an indicator the allies are moving in the right direction."

Mr. Biden and the other leaders of the G7 — which includes Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy and Japan — wrote their first joint statement of principles about how they would resist economic blackmail and dissuade China from threatening or invading Taiwan, while trying to reassure Beijing that they were not seeking confrontation.

The communiqué pressed China on the usual stress points, including its military buildup in the South China Sea and the widely documented human rights abuses against Uyghurs and other Muslims in Xinjiang. Four months after the United States quietly began distributing intelligence to the European allies suggesting that China was considering sending arms to Russia to fuel its fight in Ukraine, the document seemed to be a warning to Beijing against pressing its "no limits" relationship with Russia too far.

Western 'de-risking' may be interpreted by some as containment.

Yet the democracies also left the door open to improving relations with Beijing by making clear that they were not attempting a strategy of Cold War containment against the world's ascendant economy, even as they seek to cut China off from key technologies — including the European-made machinery critical to producing the most advanced semiconductors in the world.

"Our policy approaches are not designed to harm China nor do we seek to thwart China's economic progress and development," the communiqué said. "A growing China that plays by international rules would be of global interest. We are not decoupling or turning inwards. At the same time, we recognize that economic resilience requires de-risking and diversifying."

"De-risking" is the new term of art, created by the Europeans, to describe a strategy of reducing their dependence on Chinese supply chains without "decoupling," a far more severe separation of economic relations. Mr. Biden's team has embraced the phrase, and the strategy — meant to sound self-protective rather than punitive — has become a staple of the recent conversation about how to deal with Beijing.

Jake Sullivan, the national security adviser, talks of "building a high fence around a small yard" to describe the protection of key technologies that could bolster China's rapid military buildup.

But what looks like risk reduction to the United States and Europe can look like a nicely worded containment strategy in Beijing.

The consensus reached in Hiroshima came after what Michael J. Green, a former top Asia adviser to President George W. Bush, called "a string of diplomatic wins for the U.S. and losses for China." Mr. Biden has worked behind the scenes to promote a rapprochement between South Korea and Japan, and is planning to integrate Japan into a consultative group on nuclear strategy and deterrence that was announced during a state visit last month by President Yoon Suk Yeol of South Korea. If successful, it would create a far tighter nuclear alliance in China's neighborhood.

"From Beijing's perspective, this has been a week of even closer alignment among the other powers in the region with the United States," said Mr. Green, now the chief executive of the United States Studies Center at the University of Sydney.

China pushed back hard. In a statement issued over the weekend, it accused the G7 of "obstructing international peace," "vilifying and attacking China" and "crudely meddling in China's domestic affairs." The same day, it accused Micron of "relatively serious cybersecurity problems" that could threaten national security, the same argument the United States makes about TikTok and Huawei.

Despite the common ground in Hiroshima, Mr. Biden's decision to cancel the second half of his trip to the Pacific, including a stop in Papua New Guinea, so he could rush home to deal with domestic spending and debt negotiations, was taken as a setback in the competition with China.

Now the question is whether, quietly, Mr. Biden can rebuild a relationship with Mr. Xi that seemed to be turning around last fall, after their first face-to-face meeting.

Mr. Biden referred to the spy balloon incident in interesting ways on Sunday.

"And then this silly balloon that was carrying two freight cars' worth of spying equipment was flying over the United States, and it got shot down, and everything changed in terms of talking to one another," he said. "I think you're going to see that begin to thaw very shortly."

If there is a turnaround, it may result from the quiet talks that Mr. Sullivan held in Vienna this month with Wang Yi, China's top foreign policy official.

The sessions were hardly warm, but in some ways they were more candid and useful than American officials had expected. Rather than simply a recitation of talking points, as is typical of encounters with Chinese counterparts, Mr. Wang spoke in more unscripted terms than usual, according to officials familiar with the talks. There was an airing of grievances on both sides that the Biden team hoped would help clear the air.

There were long conversations in particular about Ukraine and Taiwan. Mr. Wang emphasized that China was not seeking conflict with Taiwan, apparently trying to assuage American officials who last summer feared that China might accelerate its plans to resolve its dispute over Taiwan by force.

Mr. Wang raised the need to avoid precipitous actions surrounding elections in Taiwan early next year. Mr. Sullivan pressed the point that China's own conduct was raising the temperature and increasing the risk of escalation.

Administration officials hope to return to a more regular dialogue with China, perhaps sending Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen and Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo to China, and eventually rescheduling a trip to Beijing by Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken, who canceled a visit after the spy balloon episode. There is talk of a meeting between Mr. Biden and Mr. Xi in the fall.

But the war in Ukraine will continue to shadow the relationship — and so will the course of the relationship between Moscow and Beijing, what one of Mr. Biden's aides calls "the alliance of the aggrieved." Yet for the moment, U.S. officials have taken solace that China has not, so far as they know, provided lethal weapons to Russia despite President Vladimir V. Putin's need for armaments.

David Pierson contributed reporting.

Mexican Spying Scandal Goes to the Highest Level

From Page A1

contracts. In fact, the Mexican military has targeted more cellphones with the technology than any government agency in the world.

Mr. Encinas has long been at odds with the armed forces. He and his team have accused them of being involved in the mass disappearance of 43 students, one of the worst human rights violations in the country's recent history.

His cellphone has been infected multiple times — as recently as last year while he was leading a government truth commission into the abductions — giving the hackers unfettered access to his entire digital life, according to the four people who have discussed it with him.

Pegasus was wielded against some of Mexico's most prominent journalists and democracy advocates several years ago, igniting an international scandal that stained the previous administration.

A military's brazen surveillance, with Pegasus resurfacing.

Now, new cases have emerged in recent months, confirming that the spyware has targeted human rights defenders and local journalists during Mr. López Obrador's tenure as well.

Still, the attacks on Mr. Encinas are unlike anything Mexico has witnessed.

"If someone as close to the president as Alejandro Encinas is targeted, it's clear there's no democratic control over the spy tool," said Eduardo Bohorquez, the director of the Mexican chapter of Transparency International, an anti-corruption group.

"There's no checks and balances," he added. "The military is a superpower with zero democratic oversight."

Mr. Encinas did not respond to multiple requests for comment. The Mexican president and the Mexican defense ministry did not respond to requests for comment, either.

Pegasus can infect your phone without any sign of intrusion and extract everything on it — every email, text message, photograph, calendar appointment. It can watch through your phone's camera or listen through its microphone, even if your phone appears to be turned off.

People who spoke with Mr. Encinas about the hacks said he learned the details of the infections after they were confirmed by Citizen Lab, a watchdog group based out of the University of Toronto. It conducted a forensic analysis of his phone that has not been made public.

The group also found evidence that Pegasus had infiltrated the phones of two other government officials who work with Mr. Encinas and have been involved in inquiries into rights violations by the armed forces, three people with knowledge of the hacks said.

Citizen Lab declined to comment.

The Israeli manufacturer of Pegasus, NSO Group, opened an investigation into cyberattacks on human rights defenders in Mexico after recent reports by The New York Times about the military's use of the spyware, according to a person familiar with the NSO compliance investigations.

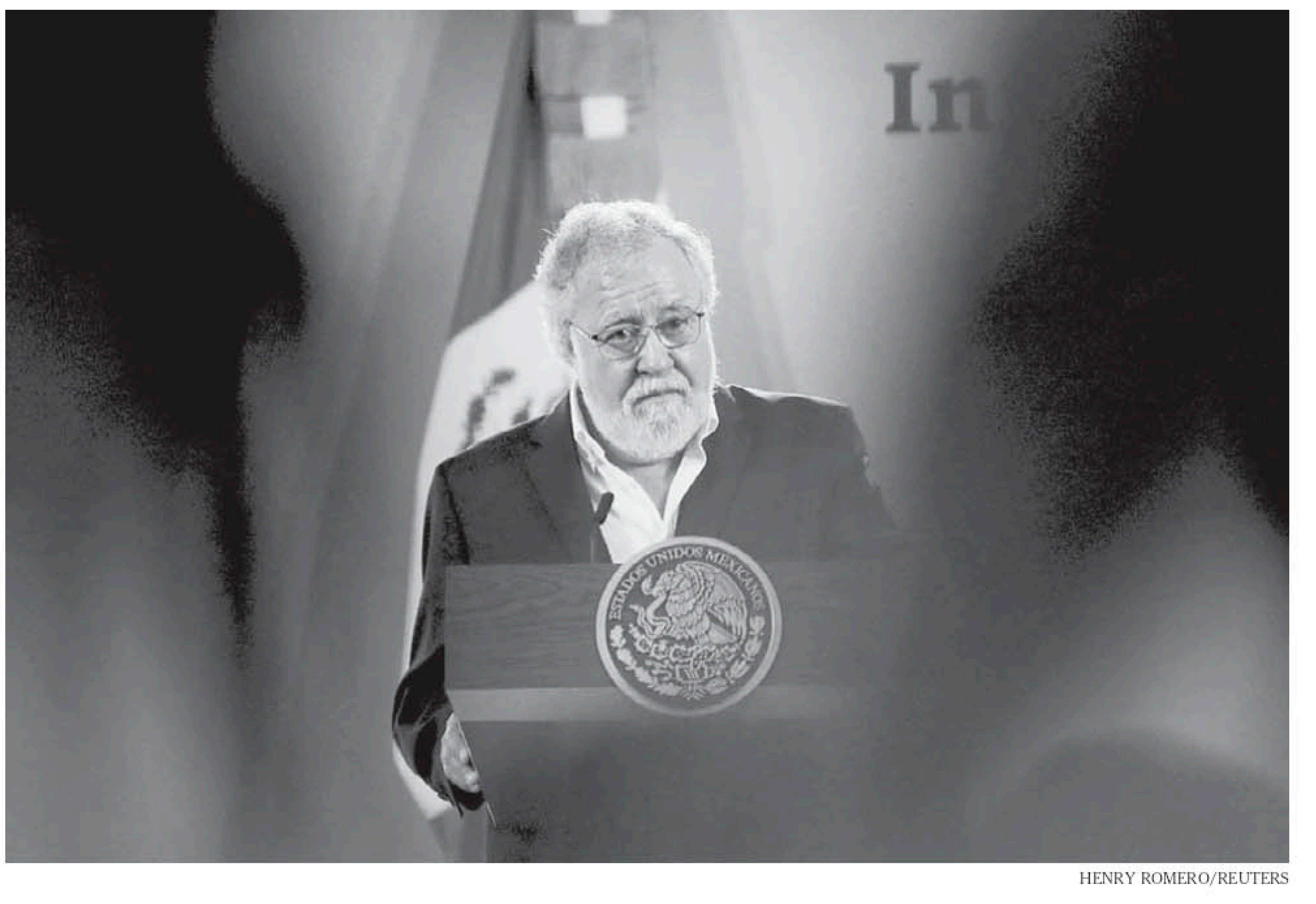
The company also began looking into the attacks on Mr. Encinas and his two colleagues after The Times asked about those hacks, the person said.

In a statement, NSO said that it did not operate individual Pegasus systems but "investigates all credible allegations of misuse," adding, "Past NSO investigations have resulted in the termination of multiple contracts regarding the improper use of our technologies."

The hacking has put Mr. Encinas and the president in a tough position. In early March, Mr. Encinas met with Mr. López Obrador to talk about the spying and whether to go public with it, according to several people briefed on the conversation.

But Mr. Encinas has kept quiet about his Pegasus infection since, they said.

Over the summer, he and his team published an explosive report about the 43 students' disappearance that accused the military of playing a role, calling the events "a crime of the state."



HENRY ROMERO/REUTERS

LUIS ANTONIO ROJAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Alejandro Encinas, left, Mexico's under secretary for human rights and an ally of President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, bottom, was investigating abuses by the military.

Then, questions emerged about the evidence, and Mr. Encinas came under intense scrutiny — especially after he admitted in an interview with The Times that key pieces of the inquiry had been "invalidated."

Lawyers representing military officials implicated in the case called for his resignation and sued him for falsifying evidence. Throughout, Mr. López Obrador has stood by Mr. Encinas, calling him "an exemplary public servant in whom we have all our confidence."

The two men have been political partners for more than two decades; Mr. Encinas served in Mr. López Obrador's cabinet when he became mayor of Mexico City in 2000.

"Andrés is my friend, he is my partner," Mr. Encinas was quoted saying in 2011. "We are part of a team and a project."

But since Mr. López Obrador took office, the two men have not always been aligned on the growing power of the military.

The nation's armed forces have vastly expanded their authority under Mr. López Obrador, accumulating broad control over policing as well as a formidable slate of other activities, including building much of a 1,000-mile railway and an airport, distributing medicine and managing ports and customs.

Mr. Encinas has been one of the few people willing to criticize the military from inside the administration.

When soldiers killed five people in northern Mexico this year, Mr. Encinas said publicly that the unarmed men were "executed" by the army.

The president has not tamped down his support of the armed forces. Despite mounting evidence of the army misusing Pegasus, Mr. López Obrador has continued to deny that any spying is happening.

"We do not spy on anyone," Mr. López Obrador said in March. He added, "It is an act of dishonesty and lack of principles to be spying."

When the Israeli Ministry of Defense licenses the sale of Pegasus to government agencies, they must sign agreements to use the surveillance tool solely for fighting severe crime or terrorism, according to three Israeli defense officials.

NSO is now looking into whether the use of Pegasus in Mexico violated that agreement.

Facing two lawsuits in the United States by Apple and Meta, WhatsApp's parent company, NSO is under more pressure than ever to demonstrate that it is enforcing its own rules. The Biden administration also blacklisted the Israeli company in 2021, concerned about how Pegasus was used to "maliciously target" dissidents across the world.

NSO appealed the decision, but as part of the process, the company is hoping to show that it is preventing abuse.

A senior executive at NSO said that the company had disconnected 10 clients after they broke the terms of their contracts. One of them, the emir of Dubai, used Pegasus to spy on his former wife, according to public court records.

If NSO confirms that Mr. Encinas and others were targeted for no legitimate reason by the Mexican military, the company could immediately shut down the institution's access to Pegasus.

Publicly, Mr. López Obrador's stance has not changed. After The Times revealed how the Mexican military became the world's first — and most prolific — user of Pegasus, the president said the armed forces "are respectful of human rights and don't do spying like before."

Natalie Kitroeff reported from Mexico City, and Ronen Bergman from Tel Aviv. Emiliano Rodríguez Mega contributed reporting from Mexico City.

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Sinn Fein Surges in Local Elections, Highlighting Divisions

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — The Irish nationalist party, Sinn Fein, cemented its status as the largest party in Northern Ireland in local election results counted over the weekend. But rather than break a political deadlock in the North, Sinn Fein's striking gains may harden the sectarian divide that has long complicated its fragile government.

Sinn Fein, the party that has historically called for uniting the North with the Republic of Ireland, gained 39 seats, for a total of 144 council members who oversee services like fixing roads and collecting trash. The Democratic Unionists, who support remaining part of the United Kingdom, managed to hold on to their existing total of 122 seats, a mediocre result that is nevertheless viewed by some in their ranks as vindication of the party's refusal to enter a power-sharing government since last year.

The combination of a surging Sinn Fein and a stalled, but defiant, Democratic Unionist Party, or D.U.P., gives neither side much incentive to compromise in restoring Northern Ireland's assembly, which collapsed over a year ago after the D.U.P. pulled out in a dispute over the post-Brexit trade rules that govern the territory. And British officials in London seem resigned to continued paralysis, with some predicting there won't be any movement toward a restored government until the fall.

CHARLES McQUILLAN/GETTY IMAGES

Michelle O'Neill leads Sinn Fein, the nationalist party, which has made gains in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.

Chances of reviving a stalled governing structure seem slim.

ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

CHARLES McQUILLAN/GETTY IMAGES

Left, the Catholic side of the peace line that separates the Catholic and Protestant communities in West Belfast. Right, Jeffrey Donaldson, center, the head of the Democratic Unionist Party, in February. Northern Ireland's assembly collapsed over a year ago.

"The picture is one of unionism and nationalism both more hard-line than ever," said Katy Hayward, a professor of politics at Queen's University in Belfast. "That doesn't bode too well for the prospect of power sharing, even if it does get restarted."

The chronic political dysfunction cast a long shadow over last month's celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement. That treaty ended decades of sectarian violence in Northern Ireland, known as the Troubles, by creating a government that balances power between the unionists, who favor remaining part of the United Kingdom, and the nationalists, who favor a united Irish Republic.

But the government has been paralyzed for 15 months over the unionists' claims that the post-Brexit trade arrangements, known at the Northern Ireland protocol, drive a wedge between the North and the rest of the United Kingdom. They called for the British government to all but overturn the protocol.

Prime Minister Rishi Sunak of Britain struck a deal with the European Union in February that modified many of the rules, and he called on the unionists to re-enter the assembly. But the Democratic Unionists have refused, arguing that the changes fall short of the root-and-branch overhaul that they had demanded.

Their objection has done nothing to prevent the agreement, known as the Windsor Framework, from being implemented. But it rallied the party's core voters, who feel increasingly isolated in Northern Ireland, where demographic trends are moving against them. The Catholic population, which tends to be nationalist, has overtaken the Protestant population, which tends to be unionist.

While the Democratic Unionists treaded water in the elections, the more moderate Ulster Unionist Party lost 21 seats, a bruising setback that analysts said would discredit its less antagonistic approach to power sharing. The Democratic Unionists also fended off a challenge from the even more hard-line Traditional Unionist Voice.

Similarly, the other major Irish nationalist party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party, which does not have Sinn Fein's vestigial ties to the violent resistance of the Irish Republican Army, lost 20 seats in the election. That leaves Sinn Fein as the overwhelming force among nationalist voters.

Sinn Fein first emerged as the largest party in legislative elections last year, a victory that gave it the right to name a first minister in the government, with the runner-up D.U.P. naming a deputy first minister. Sinn Fein's inability to do that because of the Democratic Unionists' intransigence has frustrated its voters, who analysts said flocked to the polls in large numbers in these elections to register their disapproval.

"Sinn Fein did better than anyone predicted they would, even Sinn Fein," Professor Hayward said, noting that it was the first election in which the overall nationalist vote was larger than the overall unionist vote.

Until now, Sinn Fein has campaigned heavily on kitchen-table issues like housing and health care, eschewing a direct appeal for Irish unification. But headlines in Irish nationalist papers this week called on the British government to clarify the conditions under which a poll on Irish unification would be held.

Under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement, Britain's top official for Northern Ireland must call a referendum if there is clear evidence that people favor breaking away from the United Kingdom and becoming part of a united Ireland. But there is no precise mechanism for measuring that sentiment.

The issue of unification is also likely to come up more frequently in the Republic of Ireland, where Sinn Fein comfortably outpolls either of its rivals, Fine Gael and Fianna Fail, which currently govern in a unity coalition.

"They're now really on the rise in both North and South," said Diarmaid Ferriter, a professor of modern Irish history at University College Dublin. "They're not big enough to govern on their own in the South, but they're heading in that direction."

At the moment, Sinn Fein is pressing its advantage: The party's leader in Northern Ireland, Michelle O'Neill, accepted an invitation from Buckingham Palace to attend the coronation of King Charles III, declaring on Twitter that times had changed.

The unionists, on the other hand, are in a familiar cul-de-sac: opposed to the status quo, but without viable alternatives.

If they continue to spurn the government, analysts say they will continue to bleed support in the broader electorate. But if they drop their opposition, the D.U.P.'s leaders fear they will be outflanked by more hard-line unionist parties.

"There's a bit of a sense of a time warp in Northern Ireland," Professor Ferriter said. "The D.U.P. is not going to succeed in renegotiating the deal. London is not remotely interested and has already moved on. We could be in for a long, hot and boring summer."

Greece Asked To Investigate Its Handling Of Migrants

By MATINA STEVIS-GRIDNEFF

BRUSSELS — The European Commission has asked Greece to begin an investigation into a New York Times report based on exclusive footage showing the Greek Coast Guard abandoning migrants in the Aegean Sea last month, a top official said Monday.

"My services have sent a formal request to Greek authorities that this incident be fully and independently investigated," the European commissioner for migration, Ylva Johansson, said on Twitter. "The European Commission stands ready to take formal steps, as appropriate," she added.

The Times's findings, published on Friday, point to a slew of Greek, European Union and international law violations, but the Greek authorities have so far declined to comment on the incident in the video. The coast guard vessel shown in the footage was paid for mostly by European Union funds, a fact that could also open up the country to investigations by the E.U. authorities.

The Times verified the footage, taken on the Greek island of Lesbos on April 11, using an array of tools including metadata analysis and geolocation. Times reporters also tracked down the migrants involved in the incident and interviewed them at a detention facility in coastal Turkey last month.

Greece's conservative prime minister, Kyriakos Mitsotakis, has defended his migration policies as "tough but fair." He told The Times in an interview last week, just ahead of parliamentary elections, that his approach had won his government "reasonable good will" with the European Union.

The bloc, wary of taking in more asylum seekers, relies on Greece and a handful of other coastal nations to strictly guard its external borders. Ursula von der Leyen, the European Commission president, in 2020 called Greece's enforcement Europe's "shield."

Greek voters also appear to be largely unmoved by the possible violations, and on Sunday they put Mr. Mitsotakis and his party on track for a decisive victory over the opposition, although a second round of elections will be necessary to form a government.

Pressed by reporters in Brussels on Monday, representatives for the European Commission said that the European Union's executive body would rely on the Greek authorities to investigate and verify the Times's findings before they could take action.

"This is for the institutions in Greece to investigate," said Anitta Hipper, the commission spokeswoman for migration policy.

The European Commission has the power to open a so-called infringement procedure against Greece, the formal process under which the European Union punishes members that violate its rules. The commission opens such proceedings against member states on a variety of issues, including migration, and it holds the power to freeze E.U. funding if a member state does not comply.

At Least 19 Dead After 'Horrific' Blaze In Dorm of a Guyana Boarding School

By GENEVIEVE GLATSKY

A fire that engulfed a girls' dormitory at a school overnight in central Guyana and killed at least 19 people, many of them children, had been "maliciously set," a fire service official said on Monday, as authorities in the South American country scrambled for answers.

The official, a representative for the Guyana Fire Service, said in a message, "We cannot confirm who set the fire at this time."

Earlier on Monday, the country's president, Mohamed Irfaan Ali, described the blaze as "horrific" and a "major disaster," and said he was organizing a "full-scale emergency" plan.

The ages of the victims were not immediately known, but students enrolled at the school in Mahdia, a gold mining town about 120 miles southwest of the capital, Georgetown, are between 12 and 18.

Officials originally put the death toll at 20, but health care workers resuscitated a young girl who remains in critical condition, according to the fire service.

The blaze broke out around 10:50 p.m. on Sunday, according to the government. A female student was awakened by screams in the night. She saw a fire in the bathroom area that quickly spread to other parts of the building, but was able to escape, the government said.

In a statement on Facebook, the Guyana Fire Service said firefighters had broken holes in a wall of the building to rescue 20 students. Fourteen victims died at the site of the blaze, and five others at a hospital, the statement said. Six other students were evacuated to the capital to receive treatment, and two remained in critical condition.

Five planes stocked with emergency medical supplies and health care workers were also dispatched to Mahdia to support rescue and evacuation efforts, officials said.

"The focus now is on the children to ensure that we do everything, to give them as much help as we can," Mr. Ali told journalists early Monday at Ogle airport, also known as Eugene F. Correia International Airport.

Seeking answers, with some victims still in critical condition.

Efforts were being made to reach the relatives of the victims, who come from villages across the country to attend the school, according to the government.

In Mahdia, which has a majority Indigenous or Amerindian population, students largely come from remote areas. The government provides air travel so that they can attend the public boarding school.

Michael Mc Garrell, an Amerindian activist, said in a telephone interview that his 15-year-old twin great-nieces were among the fire victims.

"They were jovial girls, always together; when you see one, the other is always there," he said in a WhatsApp message. "Our family is deeply heartbroken by their sudden demise."

Mr. Mc Garrell and other activists have raised concerns about metal grills on the dormitory windows, which he believed blocked the victims from escaping.

"It was a poorly designed building," said Mr. Mc Garrell, who lives in the village of Chenapou, which has a population of 800 and lost four residents in the fire, including the twins, he said.

Some residents of Chenapou began demonstrating, asking for a national day of mourning and for the bodies to be repatriated.

A regional education officer for Guyana's Ministry of Education, which operates the school, declined to comment, saying she was not permitted to speak to the news media.

"We have to get this right," said President Ali, who added that psychologists and counselors were needed for the emergency response effort, which was headed in Mahdia by the country's minister of home affairs, Robeson Benn. Prime Minister Mark Phillips was also leading a team of officials to the site.

Natasha Singh-Lewis, a representative for the opposition coalition A Partnership for National Unity + Alliance for Change, called for a thorough investigation into "what really went wrong" at the school, according to a statement posted Monday.

"We need to understand how this most horrific and deadly incident occurred and take all necessary measures to prevent such a tragedy from happening again," she said.

Denis Chabrol and Cora Engelbrecht contributed reporting.

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The post office, situated along the Pasig River, was one of the city's most recognizable landmarks.

Manila's Historic Post Office Destroyed in Fire

By JASON GUTIERREZ

MANILA — The Manila Central Post Office, one of the Philippine capital's most historic buildings, was all but destroyed by fire overnight, officials said on Monday morning.

The shell of the neo-Classical-style structure, which was built in 1926, was still standing. But Postmaster General Luis Carlos said the building had been completely gutted, "from the basement to the ground floor all the way up to the fifth floor."

"The structure is still there, but its ceiling has fallen down," Mr. Carlos told reporters.

Fire officials said they were trying to determine the cause of the blaze, which began in the basement on Sunday night. At least one person was hurt in the fire, investigators said.

The post office, situated along the Pasig River near Manila Bay, is one of the city's most recognizable landmarks. Designed by two Filipino architects, Juan Arellano and Tomás Mapúa, it was partly destroyed during the Battle of Manila in World War II but was restored in 1946.

The facility was the main hub for mail distribution in the capital. Mr. Carlos said it was unclear how many parcels and letters had been lost. Among the many items presumed to have been destroyed in the fire were valuable works of art that were being copied for stamps, Mr. Carlos said.

A historian, Manuel L. Quezon III, whose namesake grandfather was the Philippines' president in exile when Japan occupied the country during World War II, said the fire was only the latest blow to Manila's architectural heritage. He said many buildings that survived the war had not been properly restored.

Mr. Quezon suggested that the post office's shell could be preserved and used to house an extension of the National Museum of the Philippines.

"The post office has been a white elephant for decades," he said. "But its sturdy shell can be rescued and rebuilt for the National Museum."

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War in Ukraine

A City Is Destroyed by a Long and Bloody Battle

Bakhmut, Ukraine, last week, in a photo taken from a drone. The father-and-son mural was one of two created in 2020. The other, of a mother and child, was obliterated.

Photographs by TYLER HICKS
Text by MARC SANTORA

NEAR BAKHMUT, Ukraine — Bakhmut is obliterated.

As fighting around the city in eastern Ukraine raged, drone footage taken by The New York Times on Friday captured the scorched buildings, destroyed schools and cratered parks that now define Bakhmut. What looked like an early-morning haze spreading across the shattered skyline was the acrid smoke that hung heavy after another night of relentless shelling.

The Russians are declaring victory in this battle, the war's longest and bloodiest. The Ukrainians, making gains on the outskirts, say the death of the city is not the end of the campaign to drive the Russians from the ruins, just one more phase in a catastrophic war.

The notion of a "winner," however, defies what is so clearly lost — the many lives and homes in the once peaceful city, known for its salt mines and sparkling wine, largely reduced to ashes. On Friday, a few remaining civilians moved anxiously trying to find a safe path as the Russians fought in the neighborhood where the people were taking shelter. It was not immediately possible to know who the people were, where they were going and how they survived.

In a place filled with death and destruction, signs of life were the exception. President Biden said last weekend that around 100,000 Russian soldiers had been killed and wounded in the battle for Bakhmut. Ukraine also suffered grievous losses in a fight described by both sides as a meat grinder.

Over the past year, the Ukrainian government urged residents to evacuate the city of nearly 80,000, and by March it estimated that only around 4,000 people remained. As Russia stepped up its bombardment, humanitarian groups found working in the city impossible. Ukrainian forces continued to offer people safe transport out as recently as two weeks ago, according to soldiers, but some residents refused to leave.

As the last Ukrainian soldiers were driven into an ever-smaller area near the western entrance of the city, the Russian military turned what was once a thriving residential neighborhood into a shooting gallery.

Russia's shelling of Bakhmut began about a year ago.

It was not until December — after months of brutal artillery duels and deadly trench warfare — that Russian forces managed to enter the eastern outskirts of the city.

As temperatures dropped below freezing this winter, a team from The Times visited Bakhmut and found that the few remaining residents mostly lived in basement bunkers. They relied on volunteers to provide food and medical supplies, occasionally venturing out for firewood.

The Russians advanced slowly, block by block, razing many buildings to their foundations to deny the Ukrainians defensible positions.

By early May, the Ukrainians were largely confined to a patch of land smaller than Central Park. Russian forces intensified their bombardment, aimed at driving out the last Ukrainian soldiers. By late May, they had all but succeeded.

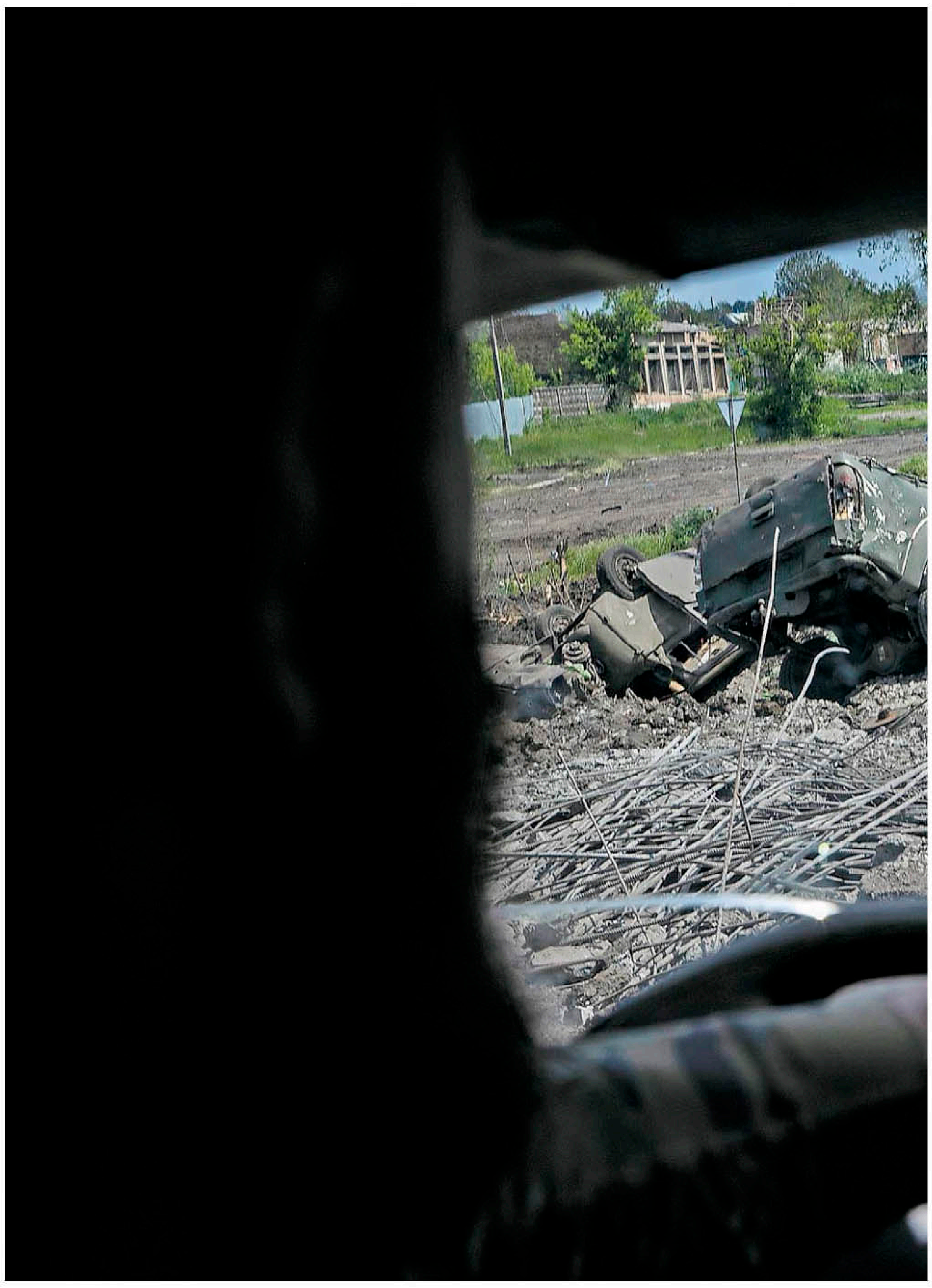
At the western entrance of Bakhmut before the war, a group of artists in 2020 painted two large murals on the walls of high-rise buildings to offer the residents a sense of solace.

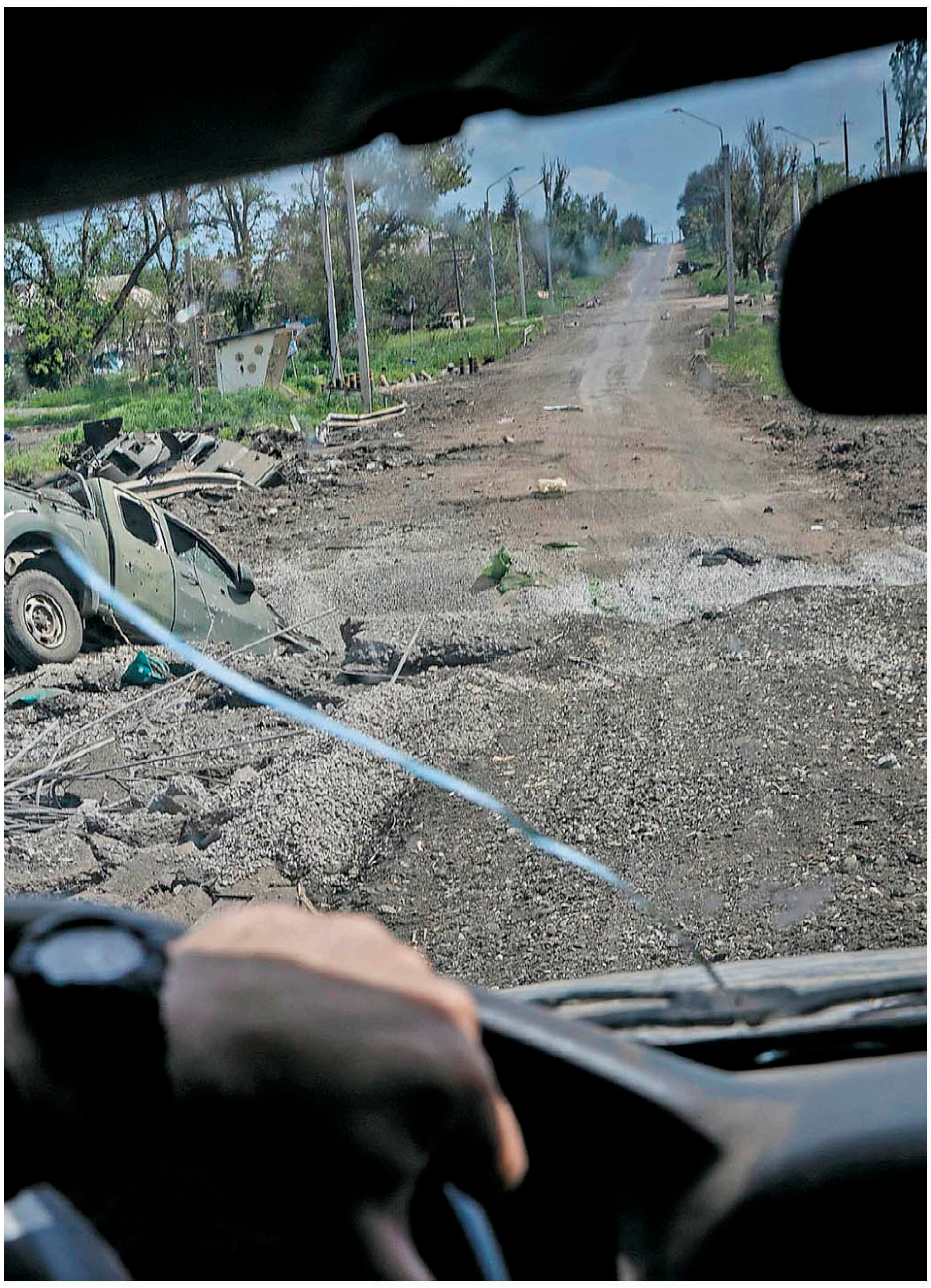
One depicted a mother holding her child aloft, sharing a moment of joy. They were both wearing garlands in their hair. The other mural depicted a father with his son on his shoulders playing with a toy plane set against a peaceful, clear blue sky.

The mural of the mother and daughter is gone along with the multistory building that served as its canvas and home to hundreds.

On Friday, the wall with the painting of the father and son still stood, but as the drone made a pass, an explosion could be seen just in front of the building — which is now empty, battered and lifeless, like the city itself.

Tyler Hicks contributed reporting.





With Ukraine's 93rd Mechanized Brigade on the outskirts of Bakhmut, clockwise from far left: Driving past damaged vehicles; firing a mortar at Russian positions; sheltering in a basement.

War in Ukraine

Bakhmut Falls to the Kremlin, at a Huge Cost. What Is Won?

From Page A1

been lost, saying that the Russians were "mopping up" to clear the remaining Ukrainian soldiers from the ruins of Bakhmut.

Gen. Oleksandr Syrsky, commander of Ukraine's ground forces, said those few troops would continue defending their ground in order to provide "opportunities to enter the city in case of a change of circumstances" — suggesting that their focus was changing from defending Bakhmut to making it difficult for Russians to hold it.

Indeed, Russia's grip on the city is far from assured. And beyond the politics and symbolism of capturing Bakhmut, experts say it is highly unlikely that Moscow can parlay the conquest of a ravaged city into further gains that would fulfill Mr. Putin's ultimate goal of taking all of the Donbas region in eastern Ukraine.

No independent count of the total casualties has been verifiable, and each side is seen as inflating the other's losses while concealing its own. But Ukraine's military has assessed that no fewer than 20,000 Russian troops have been killed in the monthslong battle and more than 100,000 wounded, according to a senior Ukrainian military official, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss Ukraine's military strategy. He made his assessment two months ago, and cautioned that this was a very rough estimate.

"There are thousands still rotting there," the official said.

Ukraine, too, has suffered high losses. Though Ukrainian officials have refused to give a precise number, their toll most likely includes many thousands killed and wounded.

The city, once home to about 80,000 people, is mostly a pile of rubble, with no electricity, water or much else that could sustain an occupying force or serve as a base for launching further incursions into Ukrainian territory. Ukraine's military has fallen back to far more defensible lines on higher ground outside the city.

What this means, according to military experts, is that the Russian forces, having taken Bakhmut, now have limited options for going further.

"Look up 'Pyrrhic victory,'" said Ben Barry, a senior fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, a research group based in London. "A victory which imposes such casualties on the side that supposedly wins the battle that it actually doesn't help them achieve their strategic ends."

This is most likely what Russia has achieved in Bakhmut, Mr. Barry said, though he cautioned that there were many unknowns, including the possibility that Russia had reserved its more elite, well-prepared units for additional offensive operations along the sprawling eastern front. Ultimately, though, few significant changes on the battlefield should be expected immediately, Mr. Barry and other experts said.

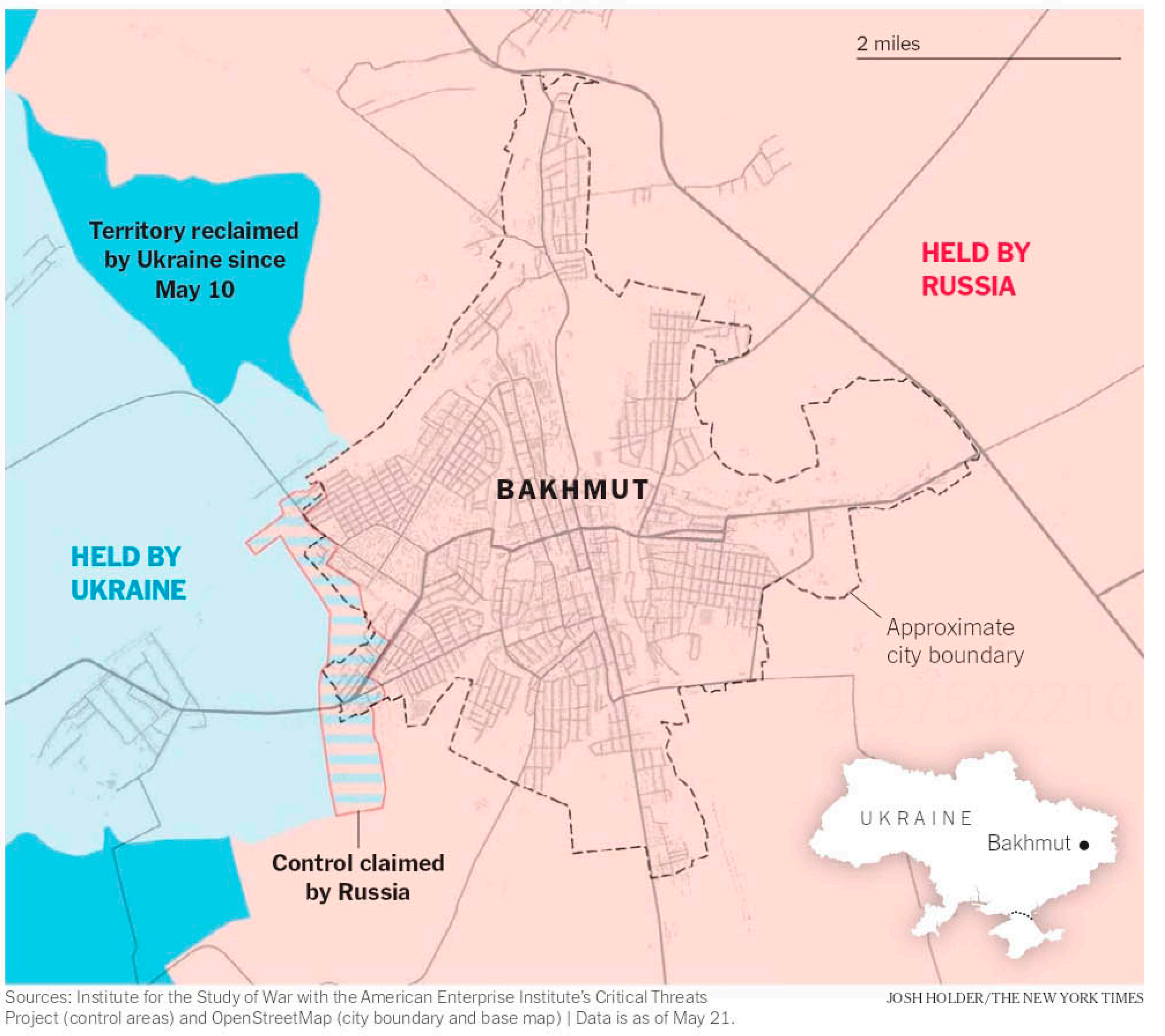
One document among the leaked Pentagon materials that were discovered circulating online last month describes a U.S. intelligence assessment of Russia's campaign in the Donbas as "headed toward attrition."

"Russian tactics have diminished Russian forces and munition stockpiles to a level that barring an unforeseen recovery can exhaust Russian units and frustrate Moscow's war aims, resulting in protracted war beyond 2023," the document said.

Russia faces another challenge, as well. Hours after declaring victory over the weekend, Yevgeny

DANIEL BEREHULAK/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ukrainian 3rd Brigade soldiers firing toward Russian forces near Bakhmut in March.



Sources: Institute for the Study of War with the American Enterprise Institute's Critical Threats Project (control areas) and OpenStreetMap (city boundary and base map) | Data is as of May 21.

JOSH HOLDER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Prigozhin, the head of the Wagner private military company, which led the assault on Bakhmut, said he would withdraw his fighters beginning on Thursday.

"From June 1, not a single Wagner PMC fighter will be at the forefront until we undergo re-formation, re-equipment and additional training," Mr. Prigozhin said.

Withdrawing forces from an active front is no simple task. Given the widely reported tensions between Wagner and Russia's military leadership, and communication problems within the Russian ranks, analysts say Ukraine will be watching for fissures to exploit.

Moreover, away from Bakhmut, along hundreds of miles of front line, Ukraine's forces are gearing up for a major counteroffensive.

The battle for Bakhmut has been a slog for both armies, gobbling up resources, people and time for what appears to be limited strategic gain. But Russia has borne those costs inordinately, according to experts and Ukrainian and Western officials, all in search of a battlefield victory that eluded the Kremlin for months.

A battle that was more about wearing down the other side.

When it began last summer, the battle for Bakhmut made more strategic sense. At the time, Russian forces had controlled a large area of territory in northeastern Ukraine and had set up a major military staging area in Izium, a railway hub to the northwest. By punching south from there and toward Bakhmut, Russian forces hoped to squeeze Ukraine's military out of the northern part of the Donetsk region by enveloping two major cities there, Kramatorsk and Sloviansk.

But a swift offensive by Ukrainian forces in the late summer and fall cleared Russia's military out of Izium and out of a large chunk of Ukraine's northeast. This removed the Russian threat from the north and allowed Ukraine to fully array its forces against the Russian troops moving in from the east.

"You could argue that, having lost Izium, the Russian military doesn't have a way to encircle this part of the Donbas," said Michael Kofman, the director of Russia studies at C.N.A., a Virginia-based defense research institute, who was in Bakhmut this year.

The city, he said before the Russians gained near total control this weekend, "is likely going to represent a tactical gain at a strategic cost and, at the cost of ammunition and manpower expended, may not make much strategic sense."

Whereas Russia has used military contractors and former prisoners from Wagner for the bulk of the fighting, the Ukrainian troops in Bakhmut were from the regular army, as well as from elite special forces units, which Ukraine could ill afford to waste.

Western allies had also questioned whether Ukraine was making the best use of its ammunition by taking a stand at a site of seemingly limited strategic value. There have been sharp questions, too, from the Ukrainian public — as well as grumbling in the ranks — over the leadership's decision to keep forces in the city for so long, rather than move them to more defensible positions outside Bakhmut.

By doing so, they locked Ukrainian troops into fixed battle lines that did not play to Kyiv's strengths, Mr. Kofman and others said. Ukraine's military has been most successful when its units have been given the flexibility to adapt and operate creatively in battles, attacking where they can find an advantage, but also withdrawing when the odds tip against them.

Just as Ukrainian officials said they wanted to wear down Russian forces at Bakhmut, killing as many as they could, Mr. Prigozhin, the Wagner leader, said his aim in Bakhmut was to deplete the Ukrainians there, not to capture the city.

But there are other reasons the Ukrainians held on for as long as they did.

President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine has long said that voluntarily ceding any territory, even for tactical gain, would be unconscionable given the abuses that Russian forces have perpetrated against civilians in occupied territories.

As both sides prepare for the next phase of the fighting, Russia's goal of taking the whole of the Donbas seems no closer than it had months ago, and perhaps is further away.

Bakhmut stood in the way of that goal like a brick wall. Russia damaged the city bit by bit and eventually claimed it. But the end result of such a strategy was always going to be a pile of bricks.

In Belarus, Activist Gets A Pardon

By MATTHEW MPOKE BIGG and IVAN NECHEPURENKO

Belarus has pardoned an opposition activist who was arrested in 2021 after the Belarusian government forced the landing of a commercial flight he had been on that was transiting its airspace, state media reported on Monday.

The activist, Roman Protasevich, 28, was the editor of Nexta, a channel on the Telegram messaging app that was instrumental in organizing mass protests against President Aleksandr G. Lukashenko after his disputed election victory in 2020. The details of Mr. Protasevich's arrest drew international attention.

A Belarusian court in May sentenced Mr. Protasevich to eight years in prison for crimes including acts of terrorism and insulting the president. But on Monday, Belta, the Belarusian state news agency, reported that Mr. Protasevich had told journalists he had been pardoned, calling it "great news."

Such leniency for someone who had been an active member of the opposition is unusual in Belarus, where, during nearly three decades in power, Mr. Lukashenko has a longstanding pattern of silencing dissent and violently suppressing opponents.

After the decision, Mr. Protasevich said that he was "insanely grateful to the country and personally to the president" for pardoning him, according to a video published by Belta.

Like many opposition activists, Mr. Protasevich had fled into exile. But in May 2021, he was on a Ryanair flight from Greece to Lithuania when a Belarusian fighter jet forced the plane to land in Minsk, the Belarusian capital. Security officials arrested him on the tarmac along with his Russian girlfriend, Sofia Sapega.

Roman Protasevich

After the arrest, Mr. Protasevich made a confession, aired on state television, that included an apology for his actions, which his family said had been forced. His statements included praise for Mr. Lukashenko and an admission about seeking to topple him.

In June 2021, Mr. Protasevich acknowledged that "many people consider me a traitor" for helping the Belarusian authorities after his arrest.

Some of Mr. Protasevich's former allies in the opposition have suggested that he might have been shown leniency in return for his cooperation.

Sergei Bespalov, a Belarusian opposition activist and blogger, claimed that "tens of people have been jailed because of his actions."

"He simply gave them up," he said in a video following Mr. Protasevich's sentencing in May.

But Franak Viacorka, another Belarusian opposition activist, said the pardon came at a cost.

Mr. Protasevich "was forced to collaborate," Mr. Viacorka wrote in a Twitter post on Monday, adding, "Pardoning doesn't mean freedom: he is under the hood."

Ms. Sapega, who was arrested with Mr. Protasevich, was sentenced to six years in prison. Her pardon plea was rejected.

More than 1,500 people in Belarus are considered to be political prisoners by rights groups and many are said to serve their sentences in dire conditions.

Attackers Strike Border Towns in Russia

By VALERIE HOPKINS

Clashes broke out on Monday in Russian villages near the Ukrainian border, according to local officials and verified videos, after a group of anti-Kremlin Russian fighters allied with Ukraine appeared to have mounted a rare ground assault inside Russia.

Videos posted online and verified by The New York Times showed the aftermath of an attack on a border post near Grayvoron, a town in the Russian region of Belgorod, north of the eastern Ukrainian city of Kharkiv. The videos showed several soldiers and three armored vehicles, including one bearing an insignia previously seen on Ukrainian equipment, around a damaged building. Another showed a soldier and an armored vehicle bearing Ukrainian markings at an intersection about three miles into Russian territory.

A group called the Free Russia Legion, which says its ranks are made up of Russians, claimed to be behind the attacks. The group operates under the umbrella of Ukraine's International Legion, a fighting force overseen by Ukrainian officers. Ukrainian officials sought to cast the unit's action on Monday as proof of division among Russians, but it was not clear if the group acted on its own initiative or if Ukrainian officers had directed the attack.

The Ukrainian government, which typically follows a policy of deliberate ambiguity about strikes inside Russian territory, said it had not been behind the attack. An adviser to President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, Mykhailo Podolyak, said Kyiv was watching the events in Belgorod "with interest and studying the situation, but it has nothing to do with it."

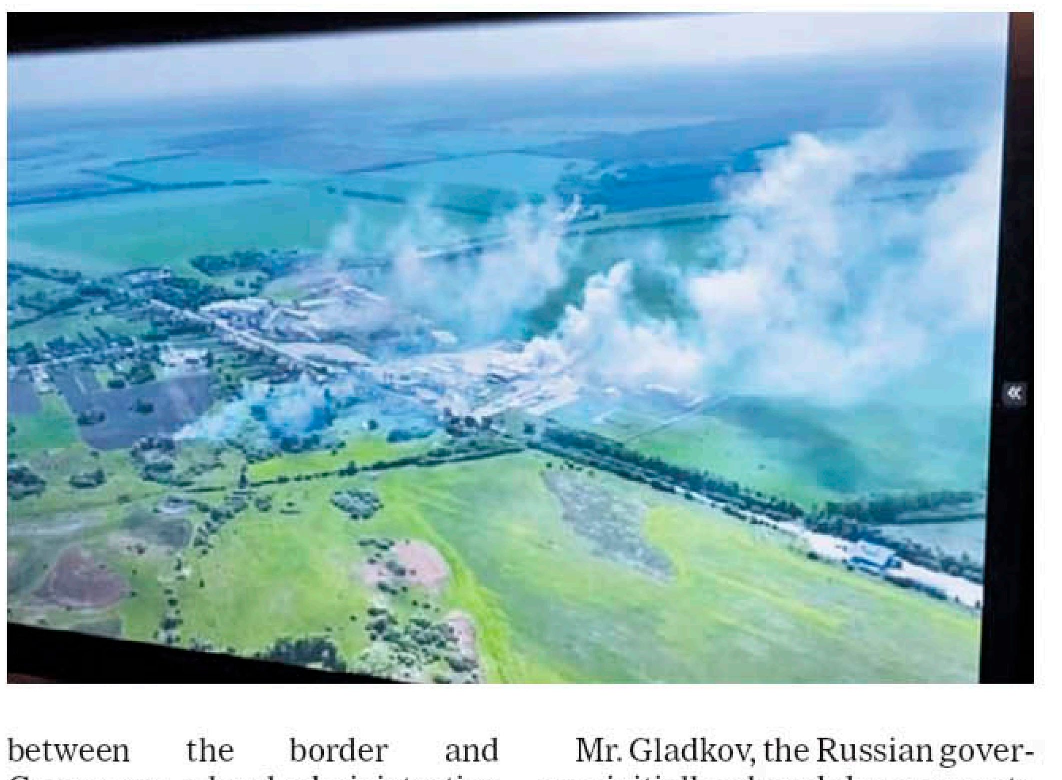
Anti-Putin Russians say they did it, while Moscow blames Kyiv.

Ukraine's military intelligence agency identified the attackers as "opposition-minded citizens of Russia." Andrii Yusov, a spokesman for the agency, told Ukrainian media outlets that Russian partisans were working to create a security zone intended to protect Ukrainian civilians near the border.

The Russian regional governor, Vyacheslav Gladkov, said that a Ukrainian sabotage group had crossed the border near the city of Belgorod on Monday morning and that the Russian military, border service and intelligence agency were "taking the necessary measures to eliminate the enemy." By Monday evening, he reported that eight residents had been injured.

The Free Russia Legion said it had "liberated" the border village of Kozinka — the location of the border crossing in the verified videos — along with another pro-Ukraine group known as the Russian Volunteer Corps. Those claims could not be independently confirmed, and it was unclear late Monday whether the groups' fighters remained in Russian territory.

Reports of cross-border shelling from Ukraine on Monday morning gave way to fighting in the afternoon in several locations between the border and Grayvoron, a local administrative center about six miles from Kozinka, according to accounts published on Telegram.



A video verified by The New York Times shows smoke near the Russian city of Belgorod.

Russia's border in the area is well fortified with mines, trenches and barriers. Since the war began, Russian authorities have spent about 10 billion rubles — about $125 million — to strengthen the defenses of the Belgorod region, according to a statement by the regional construction minister to the Interfax news agency in February. The local government also established a Territorial Defense Unit to train citizens in military tactics.

Mr. Gladkov, the Russian governor, initially played down reports of violence, saying there was a "massive informational attack" underway, and sought to calm residents' nerves in a video posted Monday morning. But by the evening, he said that he was putting the region on a counterterrorism footing, which gives the authorities wide power to establish temporary restrictions on movement, step up identity verifications and control telephone communications.

The Kremlin sought to downplay the incident, with its spokesman Dmitri S. Peskov telling the Tass news agency that it was a Ukrainian attempt to "divert attention from the situation" in Bakhmut, the eastern city that Russian forces claimed over the weekend to have captured after a nearly yearlong battle.

While there have been numerous reports of Ukrainians shelling targets across the border over the course of the 15-month conflict, ground assaults are rare. In early March, the Russian Volunteer Corps claimed it had staged a brief incursion into villages in Bryansk, another Russian region on Ukraine's border.

The Russian Volunteer Corps is led by a Russian nationalist in exile, and is part of a motley collection of groups of Russian citizens who oppose President Vladimir V. Putin's rule and have taken up arms for the Ukrainian cause.

Andriy Zagorodnyuk, a former Ukrainian defense minister who now advises his government, said this border incursion was a milestone because it involved armed troops, which could force Russia to deploy more of its forces along the border instead of the front lines.

It could also erode Russian unity, he said.

Reporting was contributed by Oleksandr Chubko, Oleg Matsnev, Milana Mazaeva and Riley Mellen.

War in Ukraine

FINBARR O'REILLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Civilians in Bakhmut, Ukraine, last fall. Russian troops started a relentless assault of the city in August. The Wagner chief Yevgeny V. Prigozhin claimed victory last week.

BAKHMUT DISPATCH

Why Did One Salt-Mining Town Come to Symbolize an Invasion?

Joining Long List Of Outsize Battles In Obscure Places

By THOMAS GIBBONS-NEFF

Just weeks before President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine visited the city of Bakhmut in December, a soldier with the military call sign "Bear" stared out from the window of a ruined sixth-floor apartment overlooking the city's eastern reaches. I quietly stood next to him. The battle below played out in muted ferocity.

Rockets lit the sky. A tank burned in the distance. To the south, Russian incendiary munitions floated downward, the thin arc of white flames igniting small fires on the ground but little else. There was nothing left to burn, the area already shelled to what seemed like oblivion.

"Bakhmut," I wrote in my journal, "is in rough shape."

That was one long night of hundreds, as Bakhmut became the focal point of some of the fiercest fighting of the war — the object of acute desire for Russia and of a tenacious defense by Ukraine. And now, the city of Bakhmut appears to have fallen to the Russians after 10 months, leaving thousands of soldiers wounded or killed, and a lingering question: How did a nondescript city the world had never heard of become the place where both sides decided to fight to the end, no matter the cost?

"Seems all the vultures are here," one soldier messaged me as throngs of journalists showed up when the city seemed on the brink of falling in March. "Where were you before it got this dire?"

A war's trajectory is unknowable. Combatants, political winds and military strategy have an equal say in the battles fought and the violence that follows. Bakhmut, a former Cossack outpost that was a salt-mining town at the war's outset, happened to be where two armies collided. Pride, defiance and sheer stubbornness quickly gave the city outsize importance.

Falluja, in Iraq, was unknown to much of the world until the United States tried to stamp out a growing insurgency in 2004. There were two separate battles for the city, one lasting three weeks, the second six. They were intense but much smaller in scale than Bakhmut's destruction and loss.

Gettysburg was a rolling landscape of hills and fields typical of southern Pennsylvania, but it happened to be where three days of futile fighting dashed Robert E. Lee's prospects of turning the Civil War in his favor. Iwo Jima was no more than a scab of an island in the Pacific, but the U.S. needed it for long-range bombers, and the struggle to control it became one of World War II's most grueling battles.

But whether it be Bakhmut or Iwo Jima or Falluja, the end of the battle, no matter the stakes or victor, is always the same: unfathomable loss, and a reckoning with what comes next. How do you remember the dead, and prepare for what you fear will be the calculated indifference of your leaders, who are plotting their next campaigns, with battles that might lead to your own demise?

"'The enemy,'" said Joseph Heller's character Yossarian, in his World War II novel "Catch-22," "is anybody who's going to get you killed, no matter which side he's on."

By Monday morning, Ukrainian officials were talking about controlling the "outskirts" of Bakhmut and preparing operations on the flanks, a subtle indication that the battle within the city had come to an end. Amid the rubble, the prewar population of about 70,000 has dwindled to a few thousand or less.

The Russian capture of Bakhmut at one point seemed unlikely. The Ukrainian army had pushed the Russians from around Kharkiv last September. In November, the port city of Kherson was liberated. Ukraine was winning. There was hope among some in Bakhmut that Kyiv's troops would keep advancing, turning the tide once and for all.

But despite their defeats elsewhere, Moscow's troops along with the Wagner mercenary forces, the Kremlin-backed group that was leading the assault on Bakhmut, never stopped attacking the city.

President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia had made it clear his forces were going to capture Bakhmut, and then take aim at the entirety of the mineral-rich Donbas region in which it resides. There was no winter lull as the ground hardened and the metal breaches of howitzers and Kalashnikovs became painful to touch with fingers numbed from the cold. Spring just brought more destruction in fierce and bloody street-to-street fighting.

Military analysts, Western officials and the media argued about the "strategic significance" of Bakhmut for months, as if some military-style jargon might make it easier to stomach the loss of an entire city to an invading army. Russians could use their resources better, analysts said. Ukraine should retreat to better ground and continue their offensive elsewhere, they added.

I remember the pundits and the press in 2010, when I fought in a different battle as a Marine infantryman in southern Afghanistan — the battle for Marja. It was nowhere near as violent as what I witnessed in my many trips to Bakhmut as a journalist for The New York Times, but like the Ukrainian soldiers fighting for their city, I knew the world was watching.

How little that meant in 2010 where no amount of public scrutiny would determine if my friends lived or died. And how little it meant for the soldiers fighting in Bakhmut, where every minute not under shelling or attack was a welcome reprieve, and each day's objective was to survive and keep one another alive.

Mr. Zelensky turned Bakhmut into the war's official focal point when he visited in December, appearing alongside his war-weary soldiers in what looked like a vacant factory near the front. The speed bump of a city, formerly named Artemivsk, was in the spotlight.

Bakhmut, with its once neatly trimmed walking paths and a quaint and well-known winery, was suddenly strategically significant, whether the generals and analysts agreed or not.

Mr. Zelensky's visit was all the media and the Ukrainian people needed. "Bakhmut Holds" became a rallying cry. The war had another set-piece battle, one that felt eerily similar to the siege of Mariupol and the fighting in Lysychansk and Sievierodonetsk months before it: outnumbered defenders, fighting off a much larger army.

We "are in full fire encirclement," said one soldier fighting in Bakhmut toward the battle's end, before asking if The Times would get the proper information to the public if he was abandoned there.

Opposite Mr. Zelensky was Yevgeny V. Prigozhin, the head of Wagner. The once secretive tycoon started appearing in videos on the Bakhmut front. In the footage, Mr. Prigozhin is seen rallying his fighters and egging on Mr. Zelensky as he adjusts his body armor. In a video posted in March, Mr. Prigozhin asked the Ukrainian president to keep sending "battle-ready units" so his Wagner troops could kill them.

He also sparred with the Russian military leadership, castigating them and mocking them, adding a larger-than-life character to the Bakhmut narrative.

It was a camera-ready matchup heightened by the grisly images also coming from the front.

Videos posted from the battlefield showed a shell-scarred landscape dotted with shattered trees. Soldiers fought from muddy trenches in knee-high water. Trench foot was rampant during the winter.

Bakhmut was soon compared to Verdun in 1916 (a 10-month battle that had hundreds of thousands of French and German casualties). But bloody trench warfare in eastern Ukraine was nothing new, having been a staple of the conflict since Russian-backed separatists began fighting the government there in 2014.

And the historical comparisons, apt as they may have been, did nothing to blunt the horrors on the ground. For months, Ukraine's dead and wounded streamed into Bakhmut's lone hospital. Bloodstained stretchers welcomed new patients. Russia's dead littered surrounding fields, camouflaged corpses pointing in the direction of their attack.

Mr. Zelensky's visit had made it clear: His forces would fight until the end. Bakhmut would join the list of cities where many soldiers died in exchange for only a few miles of ravaged land.

Those soldiers who live will have the rest of their lives to ponder if it was worth it. And those who died will be remembered as the fallen heroes of the battle for Bakhmut, the ranks that met their end in a city many people had never heard of a year ago.

As I stood by the shattered window that frigid night in December, I remember thinking that despite the crescendo of artillery and the chatter of gunfire, the battle for Bakhmut felt far away. Two days later, a shell crashed into the empty apartment we had been standing in.

Now the Russians patrol the city. The war goes on. It will inch toward new places on the map, not yet destroyed by monthslong artillery battles, where new slogans might emerge, and where the "strategic significance" remains in question, as the world awaits another bloody finale.

TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

FINBARR O'REILLY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top: a multinational team calling in Ukrainian artillery on Russian positions in Bakhmut; soldiers in the 24th Mechanized Brigade of the Ukrainian Ground Forces south of the city; the funeral for Oleksandr Dykiy, a soldier killed last month.

National

The New York Times

With Positive Theme and Much Cash on Hand, Scott Joins G.O.P. Race

Now Part of a Growing Field That Could Be an Advantage for Trump

By JONATHAN WEISMAN and MAYA KING

NORTH CHARLESTON, S.C. — Tim Scott, the first Black Republican elected to the Senate from the South since Reconstruction, announced his campaign for president on Monday, bringing a positive, aspirational message to a growing field of Republicans running as alternatives to former President Donald J. Trump.

Mr. Scott's decision, which followed a soft rollout in February and the creation of an exploratory committee in April, came this time with a signal to the Republican establishment that he was the candidate to rally around if the party is to stop Mr. Trump's nomination.

He was introduced by the No. 2 Republican in the Senate, John Thune of South Dakota, and will immediately begin a $5.5 million advertising blitz in the early nominating states of Iowa and New Hampshire.

"Our party and our nation are standing at a time for choosing: Victimhood or victory?" he said, repeating the choice three times to a packed, boisterous morning rally in the gym of his alma mater, Charleston Southern University. "Grievance or greatness? I choose freedom and hope and opportunity."

Long considered a rising star in the G.O.P., Mr. Scott, 57, enters the primary field having amassed $22 million in fundraising and having attracted veteran political operatives to work on his behalf.

But his message of hope and inclusion may not resonate among base Republican voters steeped in Mr. Trump's angry demands for vengeance, and the field of Republicans hoping to take the nomination from Mr. Trump is about to grow far more crowded.

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida and Chris Christie, the former governor of New Jersey, are expected to enter the race in the coming days. Chris Sununu, the popular Republican governor of New Hampshire, hinted over the weekend that he was likely to throw his hat in the ring as well, scrambling the battle for the state with the first Republican primary. Mike Pence, Mr. Trump's former vice president, is still mulling a run.

With Mr. Trump's most ardent followers unwilling to abandon their standard-bearer, the former president's critics worry that more opponents will split the anti-Trump vote and ensure his victory. Mr. Thune's presence on Monday was an acknowledgment of that concern and a call to other elected Republicans to get on board with Mr. Scott.

"Tim Scott is the real deal," Mr. Thune said.

Aides to the Scott campaign said his $22 million war chest was more than any other presidential candidate in history. (When Mr. DeSantis announces his bid as expected, he will have more money in allied groups, but that kind of political cash does not go as far under campaign finance rules.)

The Scott aides also said that the $42 million he had raised since 2022 — much of which has been doled out to other Republicans — had created a depth of loyalties other candidates do not have.

ALLISON JOYCE/GETTY IMAGES

Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina announced his presidential bid at his alma mater, Charleston Southern.

The biggest question looming over Mr. Scott's candidacy may be whether his message of positivity steeped in religiosity can attract enough Republican voters to win in a crowded primary.

One of Mr. Scott's rivals for the nomination is Nikki Haley, a former United Nations ambassador and South Carolina governor who appointed him to his Senate seat in 2012. The two have split allegiances and in-state support since Ms. Haley started her run in February, potentially complicating their efforts in a must-win early primary state.

"I bet there's room for three or four" candidates from South Carolina, Mr. Scott told the conservative radio personality Joey Hudson during a February interview.

Mr. Scott has consolidated support from several top Republican donors and political consultants while touring Iowa and New Hampshire, key early nominating states, along with South Carolina, his home base.

The longtime political operative Rob Collins and the former Colorado senator Cory Gardner, two well-known figures in Republican politics, are the leaders of his affiliated super PAC. Last month, two top South Carolina operatives, Matt Moore and Mark Knoop, were tapped to lead the group's in-state operations.

Mick Mulvaney, the former South Carolina congressman and acting chief of staff in the Trump White House, was at the announcement, as was Mark Sanford, the disgraced former governor of South Carolina whose political comeback was cut short by his staunch criticism of Mr. Trump. Larry Ellison, the billionaire founder of Oracle and a major Republican donor, attended as well.

"I'm a huge fan of Tim Scott," Mr. Sanford said.

A North Charleston native, Mr. Scott was raised by a single mother who worked long hours as a nursing assistant to raise him and his brothers. A car crash in high school sank his football dreams, but he attended Presbyterian College on a partial athletic scholarship before ultimately studying political science at Charleston Southern.

His first foray into politics was through the Charleston County Council. After serving one term in the State House, he defeated the son of Strom Thurmond and won a seat for the First Congressional District in 2010, making him the first Black Republican House member from the Deep South since Reconstruction. Just 15 years before he supported Mr. Thurmond's Senate re-election campaign, serving as its statewide co-chairman.

In speeches, he often uses his biography — a story of humble beginnings and rapid rise on the political stage — to underline his view of America as a laudable work in progress rather than an irredeemably racist nation.

"They say opportunity in America is a myth and faith in America is a fraud," he said on Monday. "But the truth of my life disproves their lies!"

The significance of his position is not lost on him. After a white gunman murdered nine Black parishioners at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, Mr. Scott condemned the act as a "crime of hate" and joined a bipartisan group of lawmakers in supporting Ms. Haley's removal of the Confederate emblem from South Carolina's state flag. As the nation reeled from the deaths of several Black men at the hands of the police in 2016, he gave a speech from the Senate floor describing instances when he was racially profiled, including by the Capitol Police.

And the next year, after Mr. Trump said there were "very fine people on both sides" of a white supremacist march in Charlottesville, Va., Mr. Scott criticized his words, compelling the former president to invite the senator to the White House for a meeting about it.

Mr. Scott was a leading Republican voice on police reform negotiations after the murder of George Floyd in 2020, helping draft Republicans' proposed legislation that called for narrow reforms but did not ultimately pass. In 2017, he spearheaded the creation of Opportunity Zones, an initiative that offers tax incentives to investors in low-income neighborhoods — many of which are predominantly Black.

It's not clear, however, whether those efforts will result in added support from Black voters on a national stage. For many Black Democrats, Mr. Scott's race matters little in light of his conservative voting record.

"The same Black people that would normally vote Republican, those are the people that will vote for Tim Scott," said Representative Jamaal Bowman, Democrat of New York. "The majority of Black people," he added, "aren't going to come out for Tim Scott."

Mr. Scott has already been tested as a presidential candidate. Days after starting his exploratory committee, Mr. Scott waffled on questions about whether he would support a federal abortion ban and did not specify the number of weeks at which he would restrict access to the procedure if elected president.

Mr. Scott's entry to the race also comes amid soul-searching for Republicans on who will carry the party's mantle in 2024.

Mr. Trump has increased his edge in the polls even as he faces new personal and political controversies, including his indictment by a grand jury in Manhattan and subsequent liability in a sexual assault trial involving the columnist E. Jean Carroll. Mr. Scott has pointedly declined to criticize Mr. Trump head-on, preferring oblique references to his own rectitude.

The senator's supporters have lauded that message, mostly positive and peppered with biblical references, as a welcome contrast to the vitriol that has become a feature of national campaigns.

"You haven't seen him burned in effigy because of a side he's taken," said Mikee Johnson, a Columbia-area business owner and Scott donor. "He's more the one who's seemed to have brought some people together."

Mr. Johnson added, "And I love him, because that's his place."

During a March presidential forum in Charleston hosted by the conservative Christian Palmetto Family Council, Mr. Scott highlighted themes likely to take center stage during his presidential campaign.

"There are two visions: One that feels like it's pulling us down and another one that wants to restore faith in this nation," he told the crowd after quoting the Epistle to the Galatians. "We believe that we need more faith in America, more faith in Americans, not less."

DeSantis Courts Older Voters With Message on Drug Costs

By ALEXANDRA GLORIOSO and NICHOLAS NEHAMAS

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — As a 44-year-old member of Generation X, Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida might be an unlikely candidate to wrest his party's older voters away from Donald J. Trump, a 76-year-old baby boomer.

But he is trying anyway.

As Mr. DeSantis closes in on the official rollout of a 2024 campaign for president, he is seeking to make early inroads with this large, politically influential group of voters and doing so by appealing to their pocketbook concerns.

He has focused especially on his efforts to lower prescription drug costs in Florida, including pushing the federal government for permission to import cheaper drugs from Canada. This month, he signed a bill that he says will bring down costs by regulating drug industry middlemen.

"We think that health care is too expensive," Mr. DeSantis said as he signed the bill in Palm Beach County. "Prescription drugs are too expensive."

"In our health care system," he went on, "you see a lot of bureaucracy, red tape. And people are making money off this system that aren't really providing value to the system."

As he travels the nation appearing at Republican fund-raisers, the governor has added a line about the new law to his stump speech.

The attempts to highlight drug costs come as Mr. Trump, who would be Mr. DeSantis's main Republican rival, has attacked him for having supported plans to restructure Social Security and Medicare — programs that are sacrosanct to many older Americans. (Mr. Trump himself has expressed similar sentiments in the past.)

More than 60 percent of Republican and Republican-leaning voters are over 50, according to the Pew Research Center. Older voters also powered Mr. DeSantis's overwhelming re-election victory last year. He won six in 10 votes from those over 65, according to exit polling.

The issue of prescription drugs, the prices of which have surged in recent years, reflects one of Mr. DeSantis's advantages in a primary: the ability to promote a lengthy list of laws he has signed this year.

But talking about drug costs also illustrates the potential messaging challenges that Mr. DeSantis could face as a candidate. The governor, who considers himself a policy expert, has sometimes struggled when trying to make the topic accessible for voters. Drug costs are far drier and more complicated than the red meat he has fed to his base on conservative causes like defunding diversity programs at state schools, banning gender-transition care for minors and restricting the ability of undocumented immigrants to find work and gain access to social services.

And because he is signing so many new bills — including 37 in a single day — even some attentive Floridians are unaware of his latest attempt to bring down drug costs with legislation that regulates industry go-betweens called pharmacy benefit managers.

Al Salvi, 61, is the kind of voter who would seem likely to know about the new law. Mr. Salvi, a cancer survivor who volunteers with AARP in Florida, traveled to Tallahassee from South Florida to testify about three bills during this year's lawmaking session. In 2019, he appeared with Mr. DeSantis at an event promoting the initiative to import prescription drugs from Canada and other countries. But he had not heard about the law targeting pharmacy benefit managers.

"The hell is that?" Mr. Salvi said in an interview. "Every time I go to the pharmacy, I see a pharmacist. I've never seen a pharmacy benefit manager."

"The problem with the messaging," he added, "is that people are not going to understand it, because they've got to know how the supply chain works."

Pharmacy benefit managers work with drug manufacturers, insurance plans and pharmacies to provide drugs to patients at a discount. But patient advocates question whether benefit managers pass enough savings on to consumers. All 50 states have sought greater oversight of them, according to the National Academy for State Health Policy.

Lobbyists for the industry dispute that benefit managers are not helping consumers. And they say that Florida's new law, which passed with broad bipartisan support, will not reduce drug costs.

When Mr. DeSantis publicly discusses the issue, he can sometimes come off as opaque. He tends to talk briefly about how he believes that benefit managers hurt both consumers and neighborhood pharmacies, before diving into detailed explanations of practices that he disparages, using technical terms like "arbitrage opportunity" and "vertically integrated entities." He often refers to pharmacy benefit managers by the acronym "P.B.M.s."

The governor's office says that if voters don't know about the policy changes, it is the news media's fault.

"Could it be possible that people miss the great things that Governor DeSantis does because media like The New York Times choose instead to amplify only those angles and stories that promote their leftist agenda?" Mr. DeSantis's press secretary, Bryan Griffin, wrote in an email. (Mr. Griffin joined the governor's political operation on Monday.) "We have had a news conference nearly every day for the last two weeks promoting the governor's record number of legislative accomplishments from this session. The problem does not lie with us."

Those who study the issue say they believe Mr. DeSantis's plan could have a real impact on drug prices and transparency, particularly in comparison with Mr. Trump's efforts. When Mr. Trump was in the White House, he tried to end rebates for pharmacy benefit managers, arguing that they were driving up the prices of medicines. But he ultimately dropped the issue for most of his term.

"Trump's plan was substantial. But it ended up being more bark than bite," said Antonio Ciaccia, the chief executive of 46brooklyn, an Ohio-based nonprofit group focused on drug-pricing education and research. "DeSantis's plan is more bite than bark."

Under Florida's new law, a state advocate will field consumer and pharmacy complaints against the drug middlemen. And state regulators will have broad enforcement authority, including the ability to dole out hefty fines and even revoke a pharmacy benefit manager's right to operate in Florida.

The state will also be able to inspect contracts by benefit managers, who are involved in nearly every step of drug pricing. The three largest middlemen, CVS Caremark, Express Scripts and OptumRx, own a majority of the market. They are under common ownership with insurance plans and sometimes retail pharmacies. For example, CVS Health owns CVS Caremark, as well as the CVS retail pharmacy chain and the health insurance company Aetna.

"The oversight should help shine a light into the black box of drug prices," said State Senator Jason Brodeur, an Orlando-area Republican who sponsored the bill.

President Biden, for his part, is popular with older voters and has pushed his own plans to cut drug prices. But his administration has blocked Florida and other states from bringing in Canadian drugs, leading Mr. DeSantis to sue the Food and Drug Administration last year. Florida passed its bill allowing for the import of Canadian drugs four years ago.

"It's been held up by the Biden administration and the F.D.A. because they say it's not safe to purchase drugs from Canada," Mr. DeSantis said recently. "They're just running interference for the pharmaceutical companies."

Carly Kempler, a spokeswoman for the F.D.A., said the agency had a duty "to ensure that the proposed importation would pose no additional risk to the public's health and safety while achieving a significant reduction in the cost of covered products to the American consumer."

For now, Mr. DeSantis still appears to be workshopping his messaging on prescription drugs.

At a stop in rural Wisconsin, he briefly mentioned the law on pharmacy benefit managers.

"We've moved to hold Big Pharma accountable by shining a light and reining in things like pharmacy benefit managers that cause you to pay more for expensive medication," he said.

The crowd reacted with mild applause, having burst into cheers moments earlier when Mr. DeSantis described a bill he signed allowing the death penalty for sexual battery against children.

CHARLIE NEIBERGALL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida this month in Sioux Center, Iowa. As he gears up for a presidential run, he is drawing on his legislative record.

Alexandra Glorioso reported from Tallahassee, and Nicholas Nehamas from Miami.

Carper Says He'll Retire After 4 Terms In the Senate

By LUKE BROADWATER

WASHINGTON — Senator Thomas R. Carper, a veteran Democrat from Delaware, announced on Monday that he would not seek re-election next year, opening up a seat in a deep-blue state that he said he hoped would go to his handpicked successor.

Mr. Carper, 76, is in his fourth term in the Senate and is the last surviving Vietnam veteran to serve there. He has held public office since the 1970s, first as Delaware's treasurer and then for a decade as a congressman, and then as governor and, since 2001, as a senator.

"This just seems like a good time just to turn the page and move on," Mr. Carper said at a news conference in Wilmington, Del. He added, "I've got miles to go, and I'm going to make every day count."

The senator said he intended to do all he could to help Representative Lisa Blunt Rochester, the Democrat who serves as the state's only member of the House and was his former intern, win the race to succeed him.

As the chairman of the Environment and Public Works Committee, Mr. Carper said he planned to spend his final months in Congress overseeing the clean energy provisions in the Inflation Reduction Act and key projects included in the bipartisan infrastructure legislation.

"I'll continue working 60-hour weeks," he said.

Mr. Carper said he also planned to help his friend President Biden succeed and win re-election, brushing aside questions about the president's age.

"Every meeting I've been a part of, he's actually sharper than the rest of us," Mr. Carper said.

He said he had called Ms. Blunt Rochester on Monday morning and told her, "You've been patient waiting for me to get out of the way, and I'm going to get out of the way."

He added that he also told her, "I hope you run, and I hope you'll let me support you in that mission."

And Mr. Carper said Ms. Blunt Rochester replied, "Yes, I'll let you support me."

Ms. Blunt Rochester, who is also in her fourth term, has not yet announced a campaign but has publicly expressed interest in running. In a statement, she praised Mr. Carper as a lawmaker who was "more interested in attending a local Sunday service than doing the Sunday shows, more interested in hearing from his constituents in person than getting clicks online and more interested in the happenings of the day in Delaware than D.C."

Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the majority leader, spoke by phone with Ms. Blunt Rochester shortly after hearing of Mr. Carper's decision and told her he "believes she could be a really good senator and he looks forward to sitting down with her soon," according to Mr. Schumer's spokesman.

In a separate statement, Mr. Schumer praised Mr. Carper as a "conscientious, hardworking, honorable and effective senator who has done so much for his beloved Delaware and America, particularly in protecting our precious environment and strengthening our transportation systems."

Mr. Schumer credited Mr. Carper for spearheading important legislation such as postal reform and reducing the effects of methane in the atmosphere.

Senator Chris Coons, also a Democrat from Delaware, said Mr. Carper relied on his background as a former governor during his time in the Senate.

"Tom Carper has also mentored a generation of Delaware leaders," Mr. Coons said. "From my first race for County Council president, he has encouraged and supported my career in service, acting as a source of advice and encouragement when I needed it most, and as a role model for balancing family and service."

MICHAEL A. McCOY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

At 76, Senator Thomas R. Carper, Democrat of Delaware, is ready "just to turn the page."

To Save Colorado River, 3 States Agree to Curtail Use

Drought and growth are sapping a source of drinking water for 40 million Americans.

From Page A1

orado River at the Hoover Dam and is controlled by the federal government. The Bureau of Reclamation, an agency within the Interior Department, determines how much water each of the three states receives. The other states that depend on the Colorado get water directly from the river and its tributaries.

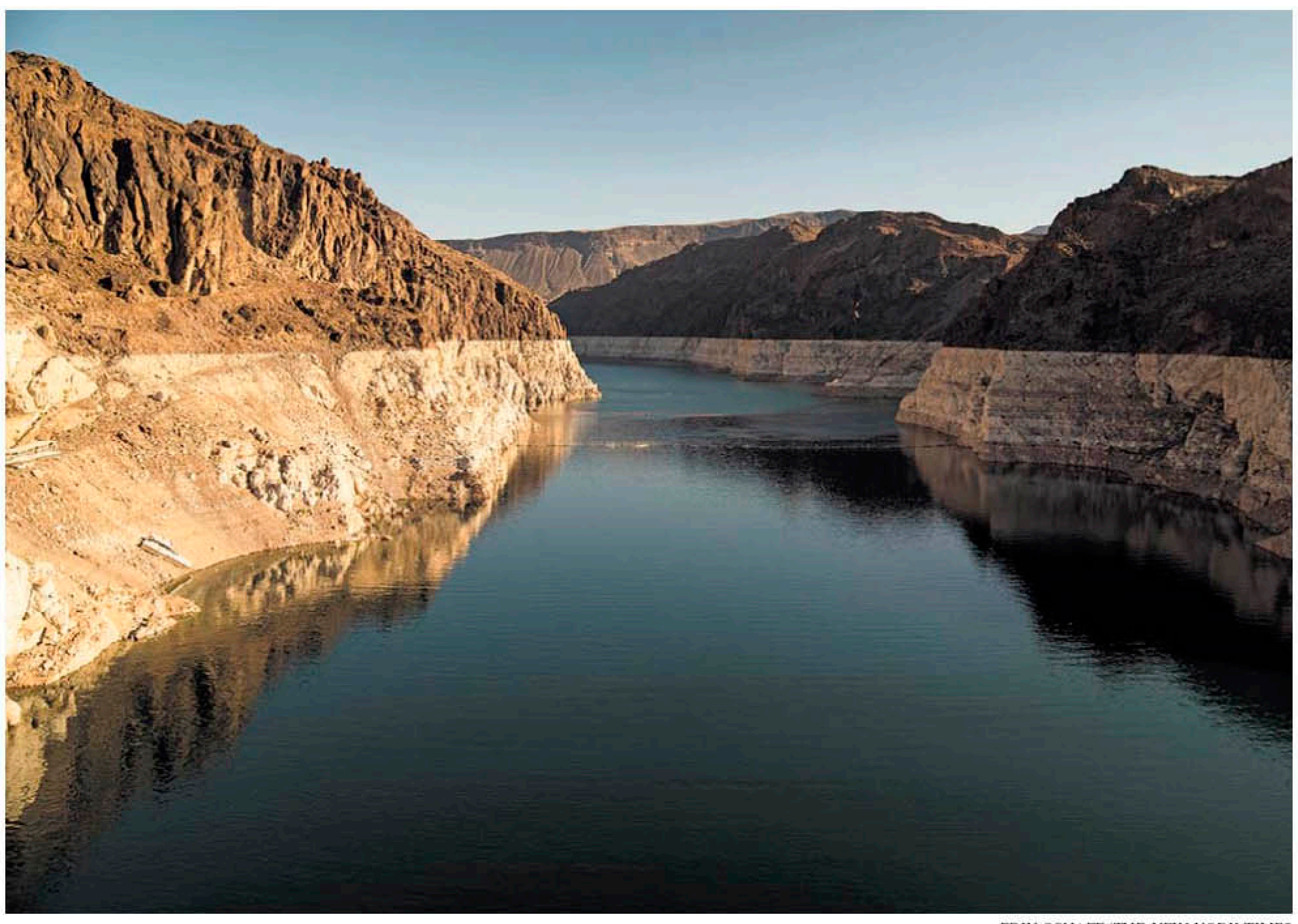
"This is an important step forward toward our shared goal of forging a sustainable path for the basin that millions of people call home," Camille Calimlim Touton, the Bureau of Reclamation commissioner, said in a statement.

The agreement struck over the weekend runs only through the end of 2026 and still needs to be formally adopted by the federal government. At that point, all seven states that rely on the river — which include Colorado, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming — could face a deeper reckoning, as its decline is likely to continue.

The negotiations over the Colorado were spurred by a crisis: Last summer, the water levels in Lake Mead and Lake Powell fell enough that officials feared the hydroelectric turbines they powered might soon cease operating.

There was even the risk that reservoir levels would fall so low that the water would no longer reach the intake valves that control the flow out of the lakes, essentially drying up the river downstream.

Facing that prospect, the Interior Department last June told the



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

California, Arizona and Nevada get water from Lake Mead, where levels have dropped sharply.

seven states to find a way to reduce their water use by two to four million acre-feet of water per year. (An acre-foot is roughly as much water as two to three households use in a year.) The states failed to reach an agreement, even as water levels in the two reservoirs remained dangerously low.

That inertia led the federal government to lay the groundwork for unilaterally imposing cuts on those states. Adding to the pressure, the Interior Department said last month that it might disregard the century-old rules governing which states should bear the brunt of cuts and instead come up with a different formula.

The federal government gave states until May 30 to take a position on the prospect of unilateral reductions. But behind closed doors, the Biden administration was negotiating with states to reach a deal and avoid having to impose cuts that would certainly face legal challenges and end up delaying any action.

Under the agreement announced Monday, most of the cuts, 2.3 million acre-feet, would come from water districts, farm operators, cities and Native American tribes that agreed to take less water in order to qualify for federal grants offered under the 2022 Inflation Reduction Act. Those payments will total about $1.2 billion.

Another 700,000 acre-feet would come from California, Nevada and Arizona, which agreed to work out the cuts among themselves in the coming months. (Under the terms of the agreement, as much as 200,000 acre-feet of those cuts could qualify for compensation through other federal programs, but those arrangements have yet to be determined.)

If the states don't identify those 700,000 acre-feet in additional cuts, the Interior Department said it would withhold the water, a move that could face legal and political challenges.

Together, the reductions would save three million acre-feet over the next three and a half years, above and beyond existing agreements. That is far less, on an annual basis, than what the federal government had demanded last summer.

The Interior Department was able to negotiate less drastic cuts thanks to an unusually wet winter which provided snowpack levels in the Colorado Basin that are far above average, especially in California. That is expected to significantly increase the amount of water in the river, at least temporarily.

The terms of the deal were described to The New York Times by a senior official at the Interior Department who was involved in the negotiations, and who spoke on the condition that he not be identified by name. The Washington Post reported elements of the deal last week.

The structure of the agreement allows the Biden administration to sidestep, for now, the problem of which states will take the brunt of the cuts.

The Interior Department declined to provide a breakdown showing how much of the 2.3 million acre-feet in voluntary, federally compensated reductions would come from each state. And, finding the additional 700,000 acre-feet remains a problem for the three lower-basin states to solve.

As a result, what looked until recently like a state-against-state cage match has produced an outcome that is more tolerable for the states involved, if not exactly welcome.

The rules that govern the river, which date to 1922, say that much of Arizona's supply from the Colorado River would be cut to almost zero before California experienced reductions. Though Arizona would still see its water supply reduced significantly, the deal effectively removes the threat of drastic slashes.

"I am very happy with this proposal," Tom Buschaztke, director of Arizona's department of water resources and the state's lead negotiator in the talks, said on Monday. "I think there is a lot of equity in it."

Sarah Porter, the director of the Kyl Center for Water Policy at Arizona State University, called the agreement a positive step, but one that might offer only a stay of execution. "Before 2026 we could be back in that danger zone again," she said.

California also fares better than might otherwise have been the case. The Interior Department raised the prospect of cutting each state's supply equally, as a share of its total use. Because California uses more water from the Colorado than any other state, it would have lost the most — a shock to farmers in Southern California, as well as cities like Los Angeles and San Diego. Relying largely on voluntary reductions gets around that concern.

Bill Hasencamp, manager of Colorado River resources for the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, said the agreement could provide a few years of stability for Los Angeles, San Diego and other California cities that rely on water from the Colorado.

The greater challenge will be reaching a deal after 2026, when the federal government may not be willing to provide as much funding to conserve water, and states won't be able to count on more winters of heavy rain and snowfall. "We know that the future is going to be drier than the past," Mr. Hasencamp said.

The deal is also a victory of sorts for the Biden administration, which has at times appeared unsure how to respond to the growing crisis. In the past year, it twice set deadlines for the states to come to an agreement, which they failed to meet. The Interior Department said the agreement showed that states are able to work together with the federal government to address the challenge of the Colorado's decline.

That notion, too, will soon be tested. The department has said its next step will be to study the effects of the deal that states have struck, before deciding how to proceed. In the meantime, the next round of negotiations, about what to do after 2026, is set to begin next month.

Jack Healy contributed reporting from Phoenix.

How Thirsty Crops and Meaty Diets Drain Resources

By ELENA SHAO

The water supply that 40 million Americans rely on has been pushed to its limit. Reservoirs and wells are running low. This week, the states that rely on water from the Colorado River reached a temporary deal with the Biden administration on sharing what's left.

What's using all that water?

The majority of the water in the Colorado River basin — more than one trillion gallons — is used to grow feed for livestock, connecting the region's water crisis to how much dairy and meat we eat.

The crops grown for humans to eat directly, like vegetables, use less than a quarter of the amount of water that livestock feed does, according to estimates from a 2020 study published in Nature Sustainability. And residential consumption, like watering lawns and taking showers, uses a fifth of what livestock feed does.

A Worsening Imbalance

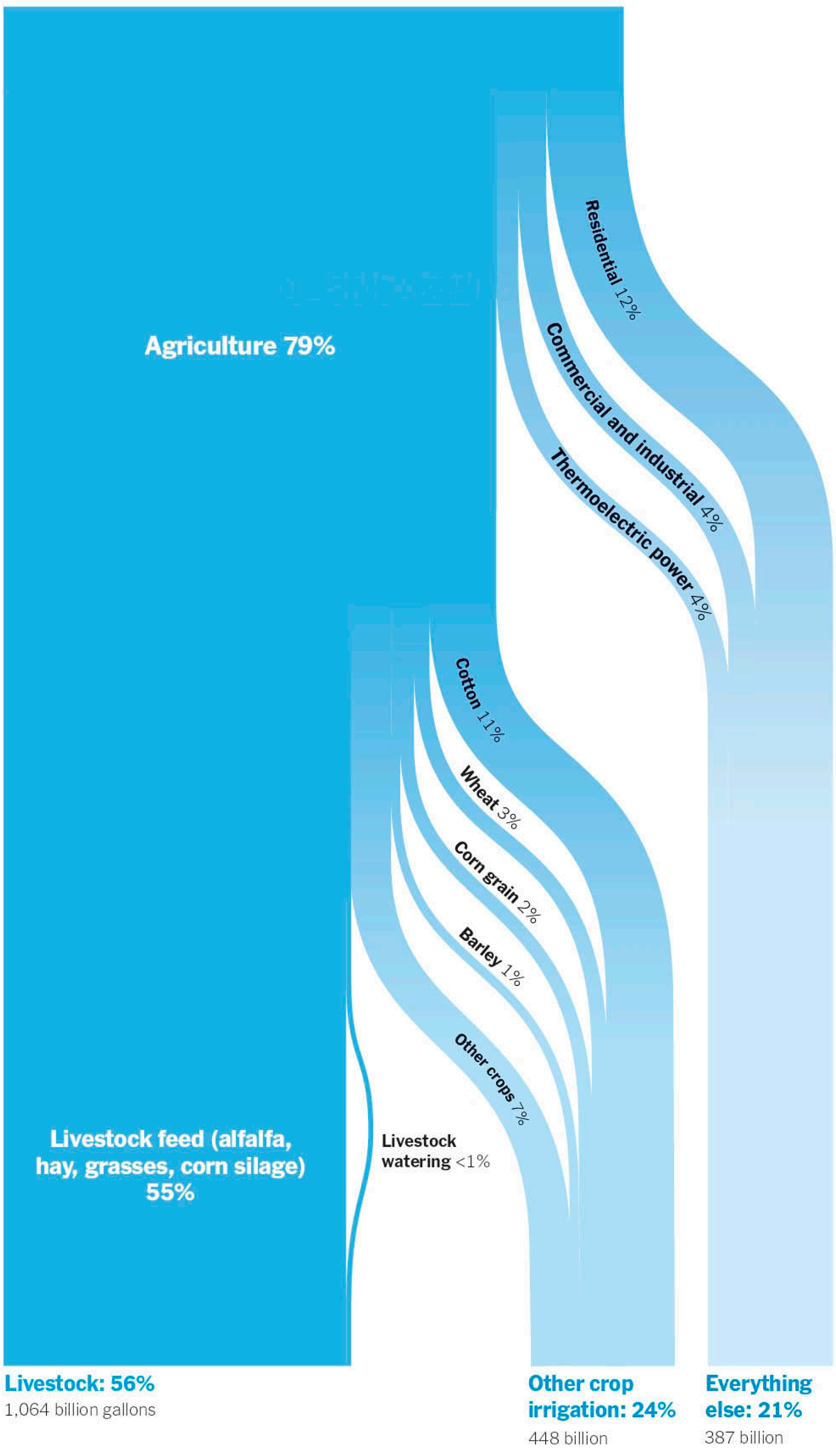
The Colorado River system stretches across seven states in the Southwest and Mexico, and a complicated set of decades-old laws determines who gets water from the river, and how much. Those rules promised more water than the system could sustainably give, experts have said, an imbalance that is worsening as climate change dries out even more of the West.

That has led to the widespread use of thirsty crops under "a presumption that water is cheap and abundant," said Heather Cooley, director of research at the Pacific Institute, a research group focused on global water challenges. "But that's not the reality."

The chart at right captures both river water and groundwater withdrawals, but river water makes up the vast majority (about 87 percent) of water use in the basin, according to the study's authors.

1.9 Trillion Gallons of Water

Amount consumed within the Colorado River basin in a typical year



Source: Richter, Bartak, Caldwell, et al. in Nature Sustainability | Note: Water used for mining was included in the commercial and industrial category. Estimates do not include water exports from the basin, evaporation or natural losses. Percentages may not add up to 100 percent because of rounding.

ELENA SHAO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Water Footprint of Food

To put it in perspective, it could take more than 38 gallons of water, by some estimates, to produce one quarter-pound beef patty. That includes the water to grow all the feed like alfalfa and hay that the cattle themselves eat. In comparison, you need about five gallons of water to get the same amount of protein from tofu.

Dairy products like milk and cheese are even more water-intensive per gram of protein than beef because dairy cows require more energy to produce milk. They're often fed alfalfa, in part because it's higher in calories and protein. Some tree nuts, like almonds, can use a relatively large amount of water as well.

Water footprint estimates can vary widely depending on the conditions that the livestock are raised in, or the farming practices and technology used. But, in general, beef and dairy are some of the most water-intensive foods we consume. Raising cattle also contributes relatively more greenhouse gas emissions, particularly methane, than most other food.

And, on average, Americans eat a lot of beef and dairy.

About That Alfalfa

Thirty-seven percent of the water used in the Colorado River basin goes toward growing alfalfa and hay used largely to feed dairy cattle. That's triple the water that residents in the region use to water lawns, take showers and wash clothes. Alfalfa is a thirsty crop, in part because of its lengthy growing season, which allows for multiple harvests per year.

It's an export, too. Researchers estimated in the 2020 study that 10 to 12 percent of the irrigated cattle-feed crops grown in the United States is exported, and about 10 percent of beef is exported.

The Big Picture

Although agriculture dominates water consumption in the West, most of the new demand for water comes from growing cities, Ms. Cooley said, and there are many opportunities to conserve water at the tap.

Fewer lawns could make a difference. But experts say what we eat remains the biggest driver of water use along the Colorado.

"We have to be thinking about dietary changes," said Brian Richter, lead author of the 2020 study and president of the education organization Sustainable Waters.

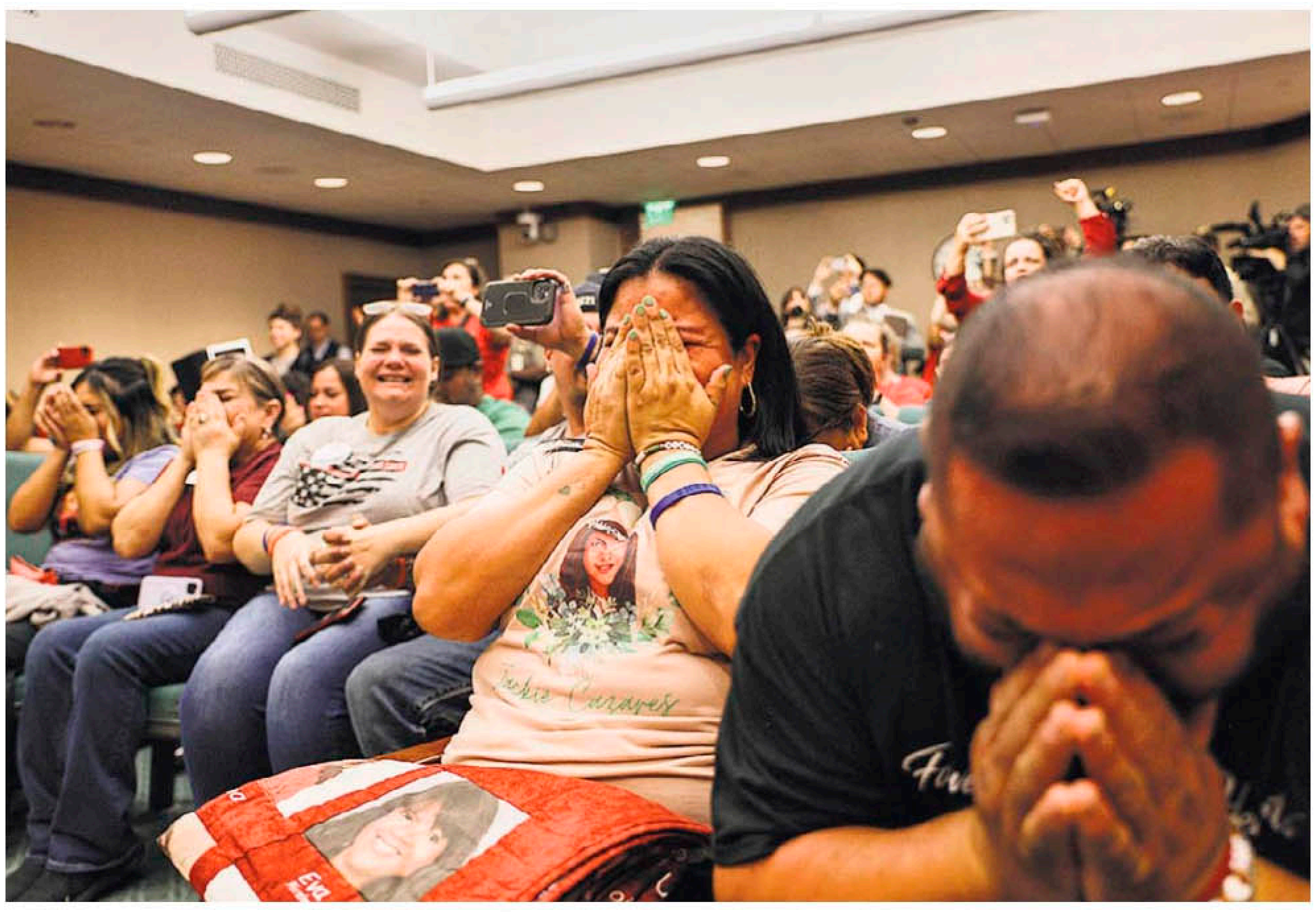
That doesn't necessarily mean quitting meat entirely. Instead, it might look like a mind-set shift: Those products might need to become more of a specialty item in our diets, he said, "rather than something we consume every day."

'The negativity divides. You have everybody getting mad.'

BERLINDA ARREOLA, the step-grandmother of one of the victims.

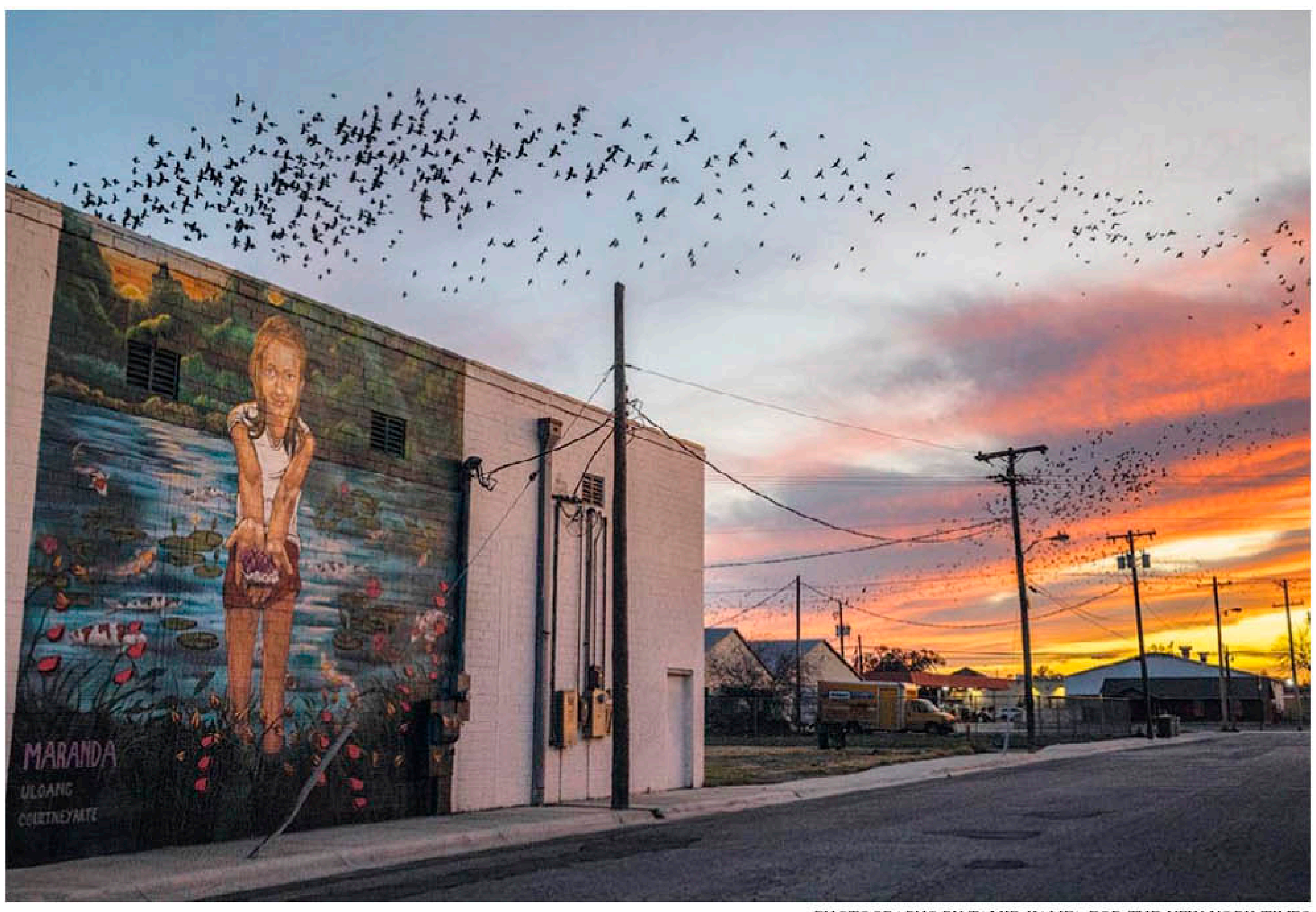
After a Year of Agony, Uvalde's Spirit Is Torn

From Page A1



Gloria Cazares, whose daughter Jackie was killed, pushed Texas to raise the age to buy an AR-15.

Families of the 19 children and two teachers who were killed took part in a rally last August.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Uvalde, Texas, now has prominent murals of the fourth-grade victims, including Maranda Mathis.

district attorney's investigation for their delay in taking down the gunman, and residents who now distrust law enforcement; between those still in mourning and those who would like to move on.

Frictions have occasionally spilled into the open in a city where everyone still shops at the same grocery stores, eats at the same restaurants, attends the same Little League games.

At a recent library event, residents pulled the city manager aside to ask, quietly, about when Uvalde could begin to put the shooting behind them, starting with finally getting rid of a makeshift shrine to the massacre's victims that still fills the central plaza. "I've had more than one person ask me: When are you going to clean up the plaza?" said the city manager, Vince DiPiazza.

There have been overt displays of anger. The relatives of one of the children killed screamed at the mother of the 18-year-old gunman after running into her by chance on the street last year. A local pastor drew ire for defending the police during a school board meeting last summer. One person urged him to sit down, shouting, "Your time is up!"

"The negativity divides. You have everybody getting mad," said Berlinda Arreola, the step-grandmother of one of the victims.

Disagreements and lingering resentments have complicated the preparations for Wednesday's commemoration of the massacre. Officials urged outsiders to stay away from Uvalde, while relatives of some residents planned a memorial march through town.

Rifts have grown even among the families. Joe Alejandro, whose niece was killed, found himself disagreeing with other relatives who have been demanding stricter gun laws, such as raising the age from 18 to 21 to buy an AR-15-style rifle, the type used in last year's massacre.

"I've had guns all of my life, and my gun is not going to kill anybody," Mr. Alejandro said. "This is how we grew up. You go hunting in the morning and go to school and the guns stay there," he said, referring to his car. "Why come after me?"

Mr. Alejandro's view is a common one in Uvalde, where voters in the majority Hispanic city surrounded by ranches and hunting land voted for Gov. Greg Abbott, a Republican, a little over five months after the shooting, in a race where his opponent, Beto O'Rourke, frequently wore a Uvalde baseball hat and had promised stronger gun control.

After more than 100 students walked out of classes last month as part of protests against gun violence, school administrators warned them that they would face consequences the next time.

Long after the gunfire, Uvalde remains on edge. Recently, the City Hall and a large supermarket went into lockdown after residents circulated images of a man walking around downtown with a gun on his shoulder. (It turned out to be a BB gun.) Some parents kept their children home from school during the final full week of classes this month amid social media threats of violence that turned out to be unfounded.

Tensions remain in part because several investigations into the shooting and police response remain unresolved.

An inquiry by the district attorney, Christina Mitchell, remains open into whether charges should be brought against any of the dozens of officers who waited for more than an hour to storm the classroom where the gunman was holed up with students and kill him. Ms. Mitchell has said that she intends to present any evidence of criminal wrongdoing to a grand jury. But such a presentation is likely still many months away.

"A case of this magnitude has to be deliberate, has to be thorough, and there cannot be haste," she said in a statement. "Because I have seen cases that are quickly investigated and justice does not prevail in those cases."

A medical study to determine whether a faster confrontation with the gunman could have saved any of the children has yet to be completed. The Justice Department, too, is still working on its inquiry into the police response. Vanita Gupta, the department's third highest-ranking official, visited Uvalde last month to meet with officials and families and reassure them that the investigation was still happening, even if its results were not yet forthcoming.

The department has helped city officials connect with people in other cities torn apart by mass shootings, sharing a kind of grim new playbook for navigating the long, painful aftermath. "It reinforced in my mind that what was happening here is not unusual," said Mr. DiPiazza.

Much of the frustration has been directed at school administrators, who oversee the school district's small police force. The chief of that force, Pete Arredondo, was immediately singled out by the Texas Department of Public Safety's director, Steve McCraw, for failing to swiftly confront the gunman.

But a report by a Texas House committee later found "systemic failures" in the police response, not just by Mr. Arredondo, but by other agencies, including the state D.P.S. and the city Police Department, which also participated in

United after one of the worst school shootings, neighbors have drifted apart.

the response. Both Mr. Arredondo and a state police sergeant on scene, Juan Maldonado, were fired, and the officer who had been acting as the chief of the city Police Department at the time of the massacre resigned.

The school district revamped its Police Department, but the hiring of a new school police chief has not eased tensions. When a father of two students questioned the qualifications of a new police hire during a recent school board meeting, the district responded by barring him from school property for two years.

A letter signed by the new interim school superintendent, Gary Patterson, called the father's actions disruptive and disturbing.

In addition to the school police chief, the district has hired three additional officers and hopes to bring in several more. "We're being very careful and trying to hire the right type of person," Mr. Patterson said in an interview. "Our Police Department is the most scrutinized in the world right now."

The school building where the shooting took place now sits behind chain-link fencing, its windows boarded over, ready for a planned demolition. The sign at one corner of the campus has become a kind of shrine, visited by victims' relatives and passing motorists, and students have been dispersed to other schools until a new facility can be built.

Before the shooting, the most prominent mural downtown had been the one bearing the town name, images from its history and its previous claim to Texas fame as "the honey capital of the world." Now several streets and alleys are emblazoned with towering images of the fourth graders and their teachers who were killed, an unavoidable reminder of the city's forever altered identity.

From the first hours after the shooting, it was clear that the massacre would test the closeness of the community. On the night of May 24, victims' relatives had gathered at a hospital awaiting news of their children when the gunman's mother walked in.

Her mother — the gunman's grandmother — had been the first victim, shot in the face before the gunman drove to the school. She has since recovered.

Ms. Arreola, the step-grandmother of Amerie Jo Garza, who was killed, recalled feeling stunned as the gunman's mother introduced herself. "I just wanted to let you know that it was my son who killed your kids, and I'm so sorry for this," Ms. Arreola remembered her saying.

When Ms. Arreola and other relatives saw the woman on the street two months later, in July, Ms. Arreola became enraged. "What reason did he have?" she yelled, in a scene captured by a camera crew for the Spanish-language broadcaster Telemundo.

The gunman's mother could be seen calling 911 asking for help, and also addressing the relatives. "I know my son was a coward, you don't think I don't know that?" she said. "You don't think I'm carrying all that with me? I know. And I'm sorry."

On a recent evening, scores of parents gathered to watch Little League games as the sun went down over a city park. Clouds slid by overhead, delivering a light drizzle.

"Life goes on," said Lupe Leija, who works in construction and also serves on the league's board. "But there's still anger."

He said his son was at Robb Elementary during the shooting and refused to sleep alone for two months after. Now, he said, his son and others were coming to the games, just trying to regain a sense of normality. "A lot of people come here to relax," he said. "People just want to feel comfort. They want to feel peace."

Under the lights, umpires call balls and strikes. Parents sit in folding chairs or stand and cheer for their children. Among them on some nights, Mr. Leija said, is the former state police sergeant, Mr. Maldonado. No one pays him much attention.

"He got released from his job," Mr. Leija said. "What more do they want?"

Kirsten Noyes contributed research.

Judge Delays Decision On Writings of Shooter

By EMILY COCHRANE

NASHVILLE — Barely two months after an assailant fatally shot three children and three adults at a private Christian school in Nashville, the lack of information about the motive has led to a bitter legal fight over whether handwritten journals and writings found during a search of the shooter's home and car should be released to the public.

Caught in between the arguments about the constitutional right to access public records and a political dispute over gun-control legislation are the parents from about 100 families at the Covenant School who have made clear that they want the material to remain locked away, at least until the surviving classmates finish out the school year.

"It is such a heavy burden for them to put themselves back in the middle of all this when they are just trying to heal," Eric G. Osborne, a lawyer for the families, said at a court hearing on Monday. "Clearly they wouldn't be doing this if they didn't earnestly believe that the release of these writings were going to have very negative effects on them."

Journalists, a gun-rights group and others have sued to force the release of the writings. But much of the hearing was dedicated to whether Tennessee law allowed parents, the school and the companion church on campus to have a legal voice in the dispute, a question the judge said she would answer by the end of Wednesday.

"I believe that getting the information that needs to be out is a good thing," said the judge, Chancellor I'Ashea L. Myles of the Chancery Court in Davidson County, who acknowledged that the case represented "uncharted territory" and asked for sensitivity as it continued.

Even if the court rules in favor of the parents, the thornier question of how much to reveal about the shooter's motivations and final thoughts will still remain. Officials have said that they will very likely redact some of the material should the court order its release, as they weigh First Amendment protections and the need for a public explanation against fears of inspiring more violence and adding to a percolating contagion of mass killings.

The writings can also help build a growing body of research that examines patterns among similar attacks and traces the spread of bigoted beliefs.

"One of the reasons we know as much as we know about mass shooters today — things we didn't know in the past — is because of what perpetrators do and say," said Adam Lankford, a professor at the University of Alabama who has studied mass shootings. But in addition to listening to survivors, he added, "the best argument for not releasing it is just saying, 'We don't want to give these perpetrators what they want.'"

After a deadly rampage at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo., in 1999, the images and motivations of the two gunmen were plastered across cable news and front pages for weeks. Their sinister notoriety has reverberated in several mass shootings in what is now known as the Columbine effect, as isolated and troubled young people have used that killing as a road map for achieving infamy through violence in their own communities.

The Nashville assailant "considered the actions of other mass murderers," the police said in early April, thought they noted at the time that a motive remained unknown.

In the decades since Columbine, news outlets, including The New York Times, have honed a set of guidelines about reporting on mass shootings: Largely avoid repetitive use of the shooter's name and image, and focus on the victims and survivors.

But the release of an assailant's writings, and how to share them, is more complicated, and courts, news outlets and law enforcement have wrestled with it before.

Nearly 1,000 pages of documents related to the Columbine shooting were released in 2006 as a result of an order by the Colorado Supreme Court. The Hartford Courant won a five-year court battle to view documents from the gunman responsible for the massacre at the Sandy Hook Elementary School.

Social media, in some ways, has negated the need for a court to step in, given that several mass shooters have deliberately left a trail of hateful and malicious thoughts online, including in the attacks in Buffalo and El Paso, Texas. But it has also allowed writings and graphic images to easily circulate, something that experts say could heighten risk and outweigh the research and investigative merits of publishing some of the writings.

"It's millions of people, all commenting and then commenting on comments and speculating, and that's where it gets really difficult," said James Meindl, a professor in applied behavior analysis at the University of Memphis who studies the behavior of mass shooters and how news outlets can responsibly report on them.

The absence of a clear motive or significant social media postings by the Nashville shooter has already inflamed speculation. After police officials said the shooter identified as transgender, right-wing activists intensified their attacks on transgender people, claimed a connection between the shooting and the assailant's gender identity without any evidence, and speculated about a conspiracy to cover up details about a killing at a Christian school.

Pressure to act on gun legislation has also buoyed Republican state lawmakers to push for the release of the writings, after a tumultuous stretch in which two Black lawmakers were expelled — and later reinstated — for leading protests calling for gun control on the House floor but no action was taken on any measure dealing with firearm access.

Gov. Bill Lee, a Republican, called for a special session in August to consider what he described as public safety legislation, releasing a draft proposal that could allow judges to take guns from people who are ruled to be a danger to themselves or others. Citing that upcoming legislative work, Republicans have demanded the documents as a way of fully informing any possible policy change.

"If we hope to pass meaningful legislation that effectively deters this kind of targeted attack, we must have all the facts to make informed decisions," more than 60 House Republicans wrote in a letter to the Metropolitan Nashville Police Department this month.

Parents in Nashville 'see no good that can come from the release.'

A Republican state senator, Todd Gardenhire, is among those who have sued for the release of the records, citing "research" in "writing new laws regarding school safety." The many lawsuits have since merged.

Some Democrats and gun-control supporters fear that Republicans will focus on the specific content of the writings as a way to avoid addressing what they see as the larger issue of firearm access.

Multiple news outlets, including The Tennessean, have argued the documents are required to be released under state laws and warned against infringing on First Amendment protections.

The Tennessee Firearms Association and James Hammond, a former Tennessee county sheriff, are among the outside law enforcement and conservative groups that have also cited a violation of state public records law in suing for the release of the records, echoing the argument that it is important to know more about the motive before the special legislative session.

On Monday, their lawyers argued that the Covenant School, as a private school, could not claim exemptions for school safety under the public records law. They also questioned whether the group of parents had the legal standing to intervene in the case, or were entitled to the protections afforded to victims of a crime. Most of the parents have yet to publicly identify themselves as part of the lawsuits, and their lawyers indicated that several wished to remain anonymous if the case were to move forward.

Nashville law enforcement officials have argued that releasing the writings prematurely would impair an ongoing investigation; as of now they believe the shooter, killed by the police at the school, acted alone. The Metropolitan Nashville Police Department, in a separate court filing, did not object to the release of a redacted compilation of the shooter's writings, though Chancellor Myles of Davidson County is set to review what one city lawyer described as a "voluminous" trove of evidence.

Lt. Brent Gibson, the officer overseeing the investigation, estimated in a court filing that it would take a year for the Police Department to conclude its work, warning that "releasing any of the puzzle pieces too quickly could jeopardize putting this intricate puzzle together." He added that the agency needed to subpoena many records, such as messaging data and internet search history, and conclude its interviews.

Chancellor Myles is set to continue reviewing the documents and evidence in police possession, as well as previous cases in Tennessee, before making her decision on whether the parents have the legal right to intervene.

"My goal is to make sure that whatever needs to come out can come out in a manner that protects all involved, but also gives open access," she said.

Resident Doctors Go on Strike at Elmhurst in Queens

By JOSEPH GOLDSTEIN

More than 150 trainee doctors went on strike Monday at Elmhurst Hospital Center in Queens, the first physician strike at a hospital in New York City in more than 30 years.

Chief among their grievances is the fact that they are generally paid less working at a public hospital in Queens, where they care for poor patients, than their counterparts are paid at wealthier Manhattan institutions.

Though the strike is relatively small and not expected to result in major disruptions to care, it is heavy on symbolism. Some three years ago, Elmhurst was among the first hospitals in the United States to be overwhelmed by Covid-19.

Descriptions of panicked, gasping patients, chest compressions and refrigerated morgue trucks — scenes one Elmhurst doctor described as "apocalyptic" — served as a warning for the rest of the country.

Now the striking young doctors say the experience of the pandemic has encouraged activism and organizing — and a growing willingness to challenge the relatively low salaries that resident physicians, as doctors in training are called, receive for working long and grueling hours.

Residents at the city's public hospitals have often been reluctant to rock the boat in the past. Many were born and educated abroad and are in the United States on a visa.

"As international residents, we're always so thankful — we feel very lucky to be here," said Dr. Sarah Hafuth, a leader among the resident physicians, who comes from Canada.

The last physician work stoppage at a New York City hospital was in 1990.

She added: "The pandemic was an eye-opener. Physicians really started to question our worth and asking, 'Are we getting the support we need, given the situation we're in?'"

At Elmhurst, residents had more difficulty obtaining hazard pay early in the pandemic than those at some Manhattan hospitals, angering many. Hazard pay remains one of the issues driving the strike, one union delegate, a fourth-year psychiatry resident, Dr. Tanathun Kajornsakchai, said.

"It's very empowering for us all to be fighting for the same cause, fighting for fairness, and fighting for parity," Dr. Kajornsakchai said in a phone interview Monday from the picket line.

Dr. Kajornsakchai was already working at Elmhurst in 2020, though most of his fellow strikers on the picket line were still in medical school back then.

One of the signs on the picket line referenced the 7 p.m. nightly cheer — a brief tradition when New Yorkers opened their windows to clap and bang pots and pans to express thanks to front-line workers.

"Elmhurst was Covid epicenter," the sign read. "Now we're 7 p.m. clapping back."

Physician strikes are a rarity in the United States. The last one in New York City, according to the Committee of Interns and Residents, the union organizing this week's strike, was in 1990 when doctors at a Bronx hospital went on strike for nine days. They won a pay raise and stricter enforcement of rules against working more than 12 hours in a row.

Though the striking doctors work at Elmhurst, they are employed by the Icahn School of Medicine at Mount Sinai in Manhattan.

Doctors at many of New York's 11 public hospitals are affiliated with major Manhattan hospitals and medical schools, the result of longstanding contracts between the city's public hospital system and the city's leading medical institutions.

That means that the public hospital system, NYC Health + Hospitals, is largely a bystander in the negotiations. Both the system and Mount Sinai said they had taken steps to minimize interruptions to patient care.

Dr. I. Michael Leitman, the dean of graduate medical education at Mount Sinai, said that some Mount Sinai residents had signed up to work Elmhurst shifts during the strike.

Among the Elmhurst residents' complaints is that their counterparts working at Mount Sinai's main hospital, on East 98th Street, make considerably more.

Dr. Hafuth said that first-year Elmhurst residents made about $68,000 a year, while residents working at Mount Sinai's main campus made $75,000.

"Our patient load is all the same," she said. "We see the same medical pathologies, the same complexity. So we're at a point where we're quite frustrated about why Mount Sinai is willing to pay the residents on the Upper East Side more than us."

A spokeswoman for Mount Sinai, Lucia Lee, said in a statement that the health system was "committed to working toward an equitable and reasonable resolution that is in the best interest for both our residents at Elmhurst as well as for the Mount Sinai Health System."

The strike began at 7 a.m. Monday, drawing resident physicians from the departments of internal medicine, pediatrics and psychiatry. Organizers have called for the strike to last five days and they estimated that more than 150 resident physicians are participating.

It comes after more than 10 months of contract negotiations between Mount Sinai and the Committee of Interns and Residents, the union that represents the resident doctors.

Ms. Lee said that Mount Sinai's most recent offer would have paid Elmhurst residents as much as their Mount Sinai counterparts. But Elmhurst residents rejected that characterization, saying the offer would not have put them on the same level. The offer provided for raises between 5 and 7 percent a year, for three years.

Study Locates Brain Activity That Signifies Chronic Pain

By PRIYANKA RUNWAL

Researchers have for the first time recorded the brain's firing patterns while a person is feeling chronic pain, paving the way for implanted devices to one day predict pain signals or even short-circuit them.

Using a pacemaker-like device surgically placed inside the brain, scientists recorded from four patients who had felt unremitting nerve pain for more than a year. The devices recorded several times a day for up to six months, offering clues for where chronic pain resides in the brain.

The study, published on Monday in the journal Nature Neuroscience, reported that the pain was associated with electrical fluctuations in the orbitofrontal cortex, an area involved in emotion regulation, self-evaluation and decision making. The research suggests that such patterns of brain activity could serve as biomarkers to guide diagnosis and treatment.

"The study really advances a whole generation of research that has shown that the functioning of the brain is really important to processing and perceiving pain," said Dr. Ajay Wasan, a pain medicine specialist at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine, who wasn't involved in the study.

About one in five American adults experience chronic pain, which is persistent or recurrent pain that lasts longer than three months. To measure pain, doctors typically rely on patients to rate their pain, using either a numerical scale or a visual one based on emojis. But self-reported pain measures are subjective and can vary throughout the day.

"There's a big movement in the pain field to develop more objective markers of pain that can be used alongside self-reports," said Kenneth Weber, a neuroscientist at Stanford University, who was not involved in the study.

In the new study, Dr. Prasad Shirvalkar, a neurologist at the University of California, San Francisco, and his colleagues instead used electrodes to measure the collective firing pattern of thousands of neurons in the electrodes' vicinity.

The researchers surgically implanted the recording devices into four people who had been living with pain for more than a year and had found no relief through medications. For three of the patients, the pain began after a stroke. The fourth had so-called phantom limb pain after losing a leg.

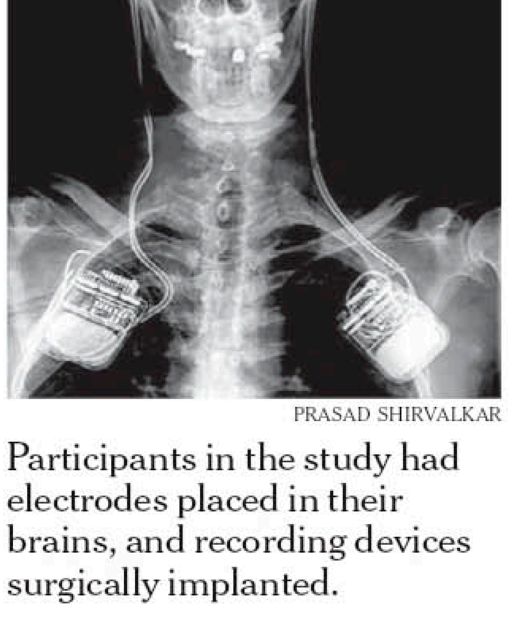
At least three times a day, patients would rate the pain they were feeling and then press a button that would spur their implants to record brain signals for 30 seconds. By following patients daily, at home and at work, "this is the first time ever chronic pain has been measured in the real world," Dr. Shirvalkar said.

The researchers placed electrodes in two brain areas: the orbitofrontal cortex, which hasn't been studied much in pain research, and the anterior cingulate cortex, a region involved in processing emotional cues. The scientists fed the data on the patients' pain scores and the corresponding electrical signals into machine learning models, which could then predict high and low chronic pain states based on brain signals alone.

The researchers found that certain frequency fluctuations from the orbitofrontal cortex were the best predictors of chronic pain. Although that brain signature was common, Dr. Shirvalkar said, each patient also showed unique brain activity. "Every patient actually had a different fingerprint for their pain," he said.

Given these variations and just four study participants, Tor Wager, a neuroscientist at Dartmouth College who was not involved in the study, suggested caution in dubbing orbitofrontal cortex signatures as biomarkers just yet.

The study's authors also noted that other brain regions may be involved. "We're just getting started," said Dr. Edward Chang, a neurosurgeon at the University of California, San Francisco. "This is just chapter one."



PRASAD SHIRVALKAR

Participants in the study had electrodes placed in their brains, and recording devices surgically implanted.

U.S. Employers Eye U.K. for 'Menopause-Friendly' Ideas

From Page A1

places" is catching on, beginning in Britain, where menopausal women are believed to be the fastest growing work force demographic.

More than 50 British organizations, including HSBC UK, Unilever UK, and the soccer club West Ham United, are now are certified as "menopause-friendly" though an accreditation developed by Henpicked: Menopause in the Workplace, a British professional training firm. One recent poll estimated that three in 10 workplaces in Britain now have some kind of menopause policy in place. There is even an awards ceremony, held in London, for the most menopause-friendly companies.

The British Parliament, which held multiple hearings on menopause in the workplace over the last two years, is calling for such policies — which include training about symptoms, physical accommodations like desk fans and modified uniforms, and more flexible schedules — to be even more widespread.

Now, the effort is arriving in the United States. New York City Mayor Eric Adams promised earlier this year "to change the stigma around menopause in this city," and to "create more menopause-friendly workplaces for our city workers through improving policies and our buildings."

There are many reasons for the shift.

Female leaders and celebrities — including Oprah and Michelle Obama — are increasingly bringing what Oprah calls "the Big M" into the cultural conversation. Gen X-ers, now in their 40s and 50s, are more willing to talk about their menopause experiences and request support than previous generations.

A growing number of "femtech" companies and other entrepreneurs focused on women's health are seeking profit opportunities in everything from prescribing hormones to selling menopause-themed energy bars.

And employers are realizing that offering help is a way to retain experienced women in the work force, as more evidence shows that menopause symptoms are hurting productivity and causing women to leave or consider leaving their jobs.

A recent British study, for example, found that one-third of women ages 50 to 64 reported moderate to severe difficulties coping at work because of menopausal symptoms. A 2021 survey by the Mayo Clinic estimated that about 10 percent of women ages 45 to 60 had taken time off in the last year in the United States because of menopause symptoms, costing employers about $1.8 billion.

The first step to a menopause-friendly workplace is to provide education to reduce the stigma, said Deborah Garlick, the founder of Henpicked. This can mean posting information on company websites and training employees and managers, regardless of gender.

Many people, for example, don't know that symptoms of perimenopause can start as early as a woman's 30s, and that even minor adjustments, like allowing an employee to take a short break when symptoms flare, can help.

It also helps to appoint "menopause champions" — employees willing to talk about menopause and help women find support, she said; the higher they are in the company's ranks, the better. "When an organization demonstrates through its senior leaders that this is something important and they take it seriously, that gives everybody permission to talk about it," she said.

Workplaces can also provide employees with access to treatment. Some are beginning to contract with companies that offer virtual appointments with providers trained in menopause care, such as Maven, Midday, and Peppy Health, a British company that recently opened an office in Brooklyn.

Increasing awareness on a bevy of health issues felt by women of a certain age.

In Britain, some workplaces are offering women desk fans. Uniforms can be modified to breathe better. Women having a particularly bad time can ask to change shifts or work from home until they get their symptoms under control.

"The employers that do best are the ones that ask their colleagues, 'What's getting in the way of you being at your best at work and what can we do to help?'" Ms. Garlick said. "The reasonable adjustments are usually small things and over a small period of time."

There are an estimated 34 symptoms of the menopause transition, and often, symptoms hit just as women are rising to higher levels at work, adding an additional challenge to the hurdles of ageism and sexism already present in many workplaces.

In part because of the lack of education about menopause, many women don't even know that what's bothering them is related to hormonal change.

Wendy Sachs, a 52-year-old filmmaker and producer in New York, recalled how several years ago, while working on a television series, she would lose her train of thought. "I had this fog over me all the time, and I honestly thought, 'I'm having early dementia,'" she said.

She didn't think to mention it to her colleagues, many of whom were men. It was a long time before she finally found a specialist in women's health — whom she paid $1,400 out of pocket to see — who prescribed hormone replacement therapy. An acupuncturist also recommended vitamins. "And I truly feel like the fog has lifted," she said.

Ms. Sachs was one of about 80 women attending a screening in late April of a new documentary about Judy Blume — the author whose 1970 novel "Are You There God? It's Me, Margaret" broke barriers with its frank discussion of menstruation — followed by a panel called "Menopause Needs Our Margaret." Held at a women's networking club in New York City, the event featured women who are making menopause advocacy their cause, including Stacy London, the stylist and television personality, and Tamsen Fadal, a local news anchor.

Ms. Garlick said that things in Britain in 2016 were much the same as they are in New York today, with women generally reluctant to draw attention to their age and menopause status.

"I would have people saying, 'I don't know why we are talking about this,'" she said, recalling particular resistance from women who had risen through the ranks in male-dominated fields like police forces. "They were worried about how they would be perceived."

During his remarks in January, Mr. Adams recalled how his mother's insomnia during menopause made it difficult for her do her job as a line cook. He pledged reform.

But some experts warn that disclosing menopause symptoms also carries risk, because it could play into assumptions that women are less productive at work as they age. As a result, it may be better to start slow, folding menopause assistance into existing workplace resources, than introduce something totally new, like a cool room, said Dr. Stephanie Faubion, medical director of the North American Menopause Society.

"The last thing we need is some other reason for workplace discrimination against women and to handicap them in some way by saying there's something wrong with them at menopause that requires accommodation," she said.

Nvidia, which has about 13,000 employees in the United States, began offering access to Peppy Health to those employees and their partners this year, after about a dozen women had asked for help finding symptom relief. The service, which provides virtual medical care via an app, was already a benefit in Nvidia's British offices, Ms. Rosa said.

Bristol Myers Squibb, the New York-based global pharmaceutical company, is in the early stages of setting up menopause support for its U.S.-based employees. Its British subsidiary, which allows employees to develop tailored symptom-management plans, was named Menopause Friendly Employer of the Year in 2022.

Carla Daily, global lead for the Bristol Myers Squibb Network of Women, said the company's first step would be setting up a hub for menopause information on its intranet. It eventually plans to give U.S. employees the same opportunities as their British counterparts.

"If I was going through menopause in the U.K., I could have this honest conversation with my manager about what I need in the event of a flare-up or in the event that I need to take a moment for myself," she said. "We don't have that in the U.S."

PHOTOGRAPHS BY YANA PASKOVA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The writer Jennifer Weiss-Wolf, left, and Davina Pardo at an April screening of Ms. Pardo's documentary "Judy Blume Forever."

Stacy London, center, the stylist and television personality, is one of several celebrities bringing attention to menopause advocacy.

After the Blume documentary screening, activists participated in a panel discussion called "Menopause Needs Our Margaret."

Still Far Apart, Leaders Express Confidence in Ability to Avert Default

By CATIE EDMONDSON and KATIE ROGERS

WASHINGTON — President Biden and Speaker Kevin McCarthy expressed optimism on Monday that they could break the partisan stalemate that has prevented action to avert a default on the nation's debt, but remained far apart on a deal to raise the debt limit as Democrats resisted Republicans' demands for spending cuts in exchange.

The two met face to face at the White House for the second time in two weeks in a show of good will after a weekend of behind-the-scenes clashes among negotiators, punctuated by a move by Republicans on Friday to halt the talks and accusations by both sides that the other was being unreasonable.

With Mr. Biden back from a summit meeting in Japan, the tenor appeared to have changed considerably.

"We don't have an agreement yet," Mr. McCarthy told reporters at the White House after the meeting. "But I did feel like the discussion was productive," he said, adding later that he believed the tone of the talks was "better than any other time we've had discussions."

"I believe we can still get there," Mr. McCarthy said. "I believe we can get it done."

He said he expected to speak with Mr. Biden daily until a deal could be struck.

With a default looming as soon as June 1, both Mr. Biden and Mr. McCarthy began their latest meeting sounding upbeat about finding common ground in an effort to avoid economic catastrophe and left it dispatching their top advisers to hammer out an agreement in the coming days.

"We still have some disagreements, but I think we may be able to get where we have to go," Mr. Biden said as the two sat down in the Oval Office. "We both know we have a significant responsibility."

Mr. Biden said in a brief statement after the meeting that the talks were "productive."

"We reiterated once again that default is off the table and the only way to move forward is in good faith toward a bipartisan agreement," he added, saying that he and his negotiating team would continue talking with Mr. McCarthy and his.

Still, the two sides remained at loggerheads. The White House has called Republicans' demands for spending cuts extreme, while Mr. McCarthy and his aides have accused White House officials of being unreasonable.

The number of legislative days for Congress to vote to raise the debt ceiling before the projected deadline is rapidly dwindling. Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen on Monday reiterated her warning to Congress that the United States could exceed its authority to borrow to pay its bills as soon as June 1. She said in an interview with NBC's "Meet the Press" over the weekend that the odds of the government's being able to hold out until mid-June — when a substantial amount of quarterly tax revenue is expected to roll in, giving the Treasury more breathing room to cover its obligations — were "quite low."

And Republicans hinted that no deal was likely to materialize until a default was truly imminent. When asked on Monday evening what it would take to break the deadlock, Mr. McCarthy replied simply, "June 1."

Chief among the outstanding issues is how much to spend overall next fiscal year on discretionary programs and how long any spending caps should be in place. Republicans want to allow military spending to increase while cutting other programs. But they have shown some flexibility around how long they would seek to cap spending overall, coming down from their initial demand of a decade, to six years.

That is longer than Mr. Biden wants. White House officials have proposed holding both military and other spending — which includes education, scientific research and environmental protection — constant over the next two years.

"These are tough issues," said Representative Patrick T. McHenry, Republican of North Carolina and a key ally of Mr. McCarthy who has been involved in the talks and attended the White House meeting. "A directive to cut spending year over year is the toughest thing to do in Washington, D.C. But that is the speaker's directive to his negotiating team. It is our expectation to be able to get that."

Hard-right members of Mr. McCarthy's conference have continued to pressure the speaker not to accept anything less than the spending cuts that House Republicans passed in their debt limit bill last month, which would have amounted to a reduction of an average of 18 percent over a decade.

"Republicans must #HoldTheLine on the debt ceiling to bring spending back to reality and restore fiscal sanity in DC," the House Freedom Caucus wrote on Twitter. "We spend $100+ billion more than federal tax revenues EVERY MONTH. Washington has a spending problem, not a revenue problem."

Mr. McCarthy expressed confidence that he could keep his conference largely united around whatever deal he strikes with Mr. Biden, telling reporters at the Capitol before the meeting that he believed it would draw the support of both Democrats and Republicans.

"I firmly believe what we're negotiating right now, a majority of Republicans will see that it is a right place to put us on a right path," he said.

But he also hinted that members of his conference should prepare to accept a final product that falls short of what some lawmakers have demanded.

"I don't want you to think at the end of the day, the bill that we come up with is going to solve all this problem," he said. "But it's going to be a step to finally acknowledge our problem and put one step in the right direction. And we're going to come back the next day and get the next step."

Once negotiators agree to a deal, it will take time to translate it into legislative text. Mr. McCarthy has promised that he will give lawmakers 72 hours to review the bill and said on Monday that he believed negotiators would need to agree to a compromise this week in order to pass legislation raising the debt ceiling before the projected June 1 deadline.

Lawmakers in the House were still left uncertain about when they would need to be present to cast votes to avert a default. The House, as of Monday evening, was set to depart Washington beginning on Thursday afternoon ahead of the Memorial Day weekend.

The two sides have found some agreement in talks in the past week, including on clawing back some unspent funds from previously approved Covid-19 relief legislation.

Senior administration officials said Project NextGen, the Biden administration's $5 billion Covid vaccine development program, could be among the casualties of those cuts. The program, modeled in part on the Trump administration's Operation Warp Speed, is an effort to find different forms of vaccines that scientists believe will offer more durable protection against the coronavirus.

But many other issues have yet to be resolved, including tightening work requirements for able-bodied adults without dependents for certain safety social net programs. The bill passed by House Republicans contained stricter requirements for recipients of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families and food stamps and is a key demand of conservatives in the House.

Mr. McCarthy said on Monday that he would continue to push for their inclusion in whatever deal he strikes with Mr. Biden, and White House negotiators have shown openness to finding some compromise on the issue.

Carl Hulse contributed reporting.

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Speaker Kevin McCarthy and President Biden at the White House on Monday, their second face-to-face meeting there in two weeks.

A deadline looms even as a holiday weekend approaches.

Debt Limit Negotiators Debate Spending Caps

By ALAN RAPPEPORT and CATIE EDMONDSON

As negotiators for the White House and House Republican leaders struggle to reach a deal over how to raise the nation's debt limit, a solution that harks back to old budget fights has re-emerged as a potential path forward: spending caps.

Putting limits on future spending in exchange for raising the $31.4 trillion borrowing cap could be the key to clinching an agreement that would allow Republicans to claim that they secured major concessions from Democrats. It could also allow President Biden to argue that his administration is being fiscally responsible while not caving to Republican demands to roll back any of his primary legislative achievements.

The Biden administration and House Republican leaders have agreed in broad terms to some sort of cap on discretionary federal spending for at least the next two years. But they are hung up on the details of those caps, including how much to spend on discretionary programs in the 2024 fiscal year and beyond, and how to divide that spending among the government's many financial obligations, including the military, veterans affairs, education, health and agriculture.

What could a spending cap deal look like?

The latest White House offer would hold military and other spending — which includes education, scientific research and environmental protection — constant from the current 2023 fiscal year to next fiscal year, according to a person familiar with both sides' proposals. That move would not reduce what is known as nominal spending, which simply means the level of spending before adjusting for inflation. Republicans are pushing to cut nominal spending in the first year.

One reason the White House is willing to entertain holding spending essentially flat has to do with politics. Given that Republicans control the House, getting an increase in funding for discretionary programs outside the military would have been nearly impossible. Congress would not have approved increases through the appropriations process, the normal way in which Congress allocates money to government programs and agencies.

Republicans have repeatedly said that they will not accept a deal unless it results in the government spending less money than it did in the last fiscal year. They have said that simply freezing spending at current levels, as the White House has proposed, does not enact the kind of meaningful cuts many in their party have long called for.

But Republican negotiators have shown some flexibility around how long they would require those spending caps to last. House G.O.P. leaders are now looking to set spending caps for six years, rather than 10. Still, that is longer than the White House is proposing, with Democrats offering to cap spending for two years.

"The numbers are foundational here," Representative Garret Graves, Republican of Louisiana and one of Speaker Kevin McCarthy's lead negotiators, said on Sunday. "The speaker has been very clear: A red line is spending less money and unless and until we're there, the rest of it is really irrelevant."

The approach is evoking debt limit déjà vu.

If spending caps sound familiar, that is because they were employed during the last big debt limit fight in 2011.

During that episode of brinkmanship, lawmakers agreed to impose limits on both military and nonmilitary spending from 2012 to 2021. The Budget Control Act caps were somewhat successful at keeping spending in check, but not entirely.

A Congressional Research Service report published this year noted that during the decade that the caps were in place, Congress and the president repeatedly enacted laws that increased the spending limits. Certain types of expenditures — for emergencies and military engagements — were exempt from the caps and the federal government spent $2 trillion over 10 years on those programs. And spending on so-called mandatory programs such as Social Security was not capped, and those make up about 70 percent of total government spending.

Still, the Congressional Research Service pointed out that spending was lower each year from 2012 to 2019 than had been projected before the caps were put in place.

The strategy is no fiscal panacea.

Caps that limit spending around current levels will help slow the growth of the nation's debt, but will not cure the government's reliance on borrowed money.

The Congressional Budget Office said this month that annual deficits — the gap between what America spends and what it earns — are projected to nearly double over the next decade, totaling more than $20 trillion through 2033. That deficit will force the United States to continue to rely heavily on borrowed funds.

Marc Goldwein, the senior policy director for the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, estimated that it would require $8 trillion of savings over 10 years to hold the national debt to its current levels. However, he said that did not mean that enacting spending caps would not be worthwhile.

"We're not going to fix this all at once," Mr. Goldwein said. "So we should do as much as we can, as often as we can."

The group has called for spending caps to be accompanied by spending cuts or tax increases as a plan to reduce the national debt.

Spending caps are not the only issue.

Finding an agreement on the extent and duration of spending caps will be a critical part of getting a deal.

But negotiators are still working to resolve several other issues, including whether to put in place tougher work requirements for social safety net programs including food stamps, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families and Medicaid, and whether to expedite permitting rules for energy projects, two key Republican priorities that White House negotiators have shown some openness to.

Jim Tankersley contributed reporting.

KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The White House and House G.O.P. leaders have agreed in broad terms to some sort of cap on discretionary spending.

Thousands of Hotel Vacancies Remain in New York City, Despite Migrant Arrivals

By MATTHEW HAAG

Thousands of migrants have come to New York City in the past two weeks, fueling what Mayor Eric Adams called "one of the great humanitarian crises" in the city's history, as officials struggle to find places to house them.

In particular, Mr. Adams has spoken repeatedly about the city's program to put migrants up in hotels, suggesting that the homeless newcomers were hurting the tourism industry and taking rooms away from vacationers.

For now, however, there are thousands of unoccupied hotel rooms in New York City, the largest hotel market in the country, reflecting the reality that the industry has not yet fully rebounded from the pandemic.

As of mid-May, there were more than 20,500 rooms available every night in the five boroughs, according to the hotel data company STR, suggesting that there was space to accommodate both tourists and migrants.

The Hotel and Gaming Trades Council, which represents workers at hotels that make up 70 percent of the city's rooms, said about 3,500 rooms in unionized hotels were being used to house asylum seekers.

Many more migrants are staying in nonunionized hotels. Overall, as of last week, about 42,500 migrants who have arrived in recent months were currently living in New York City, and a majority were staying in hotels, according to city officials. Mr. Adams said on Monday that about 5,800 migrants arrived last week, and 4,200 came the week before.

Unlike other large American cities, New York City has a mandate to provide shelter to anyone who asks.

STR said that the city's hotel occupancy had increased a few points in recent months, but that the increase mirrored the typical seasonal gain as more tourists visit in the spring.

The use of hotels for migrants has not hurt the tourist industry, said Vijay Dandapani, the chief executive of the Hotel Association of New York City, which represents 300 hotels in the city. "There has not been a negative impact so far," he said. "Hotel rooms remain available."

For months, Mr. Adams has raised the alarm about what he calls a humanitarian and economic crisis that the city has spent $1 billion addressing so far and that may cost as much as $4.3 billion through June 2024. Yet, at times he has embellished the impact: On Thursday, he said that half the hotels in the city were occupied by asylum seekers. City Hall officials later clarified that it was only 40 percent of a set of mostly midsize hotels, with between 51 to 200 rooms, deemed suitable to house the migrants.

Housing asylum seekers has not hurt the tourist industry.

Of the 150 sites being used to shelter migrants, about 140 of them are hotels where few, if any, rooms were unoccupied, the city said.

Mr. Dandapani said that because tourism in the city has not fully recovered, some hotels had decided to accept migrants as another source of revenue. In Manhattan, the hotels collect about $185 per night, he said. (The average room rate for all hotels in New York City was $297.90, STR said, the highest in the country.)

Through May 13, nearly 86 percent of New York City's hotel rooms were occupied over the previous month, according to STR. That rate was up 8.4 percent from the same time last year and is the highest among all large markets in the United States, the group said, but was still 5 percent below the city's rate for the same period before the pandemic.

Many of the rooms occupied by migrants have been paid for through a bulk contract with the Hotel Association of New York City Foundation, which signed a $237 million deal that started in September.

City Hall officials said that while the business may help hoteliers, the hotels that house migrants do not pay a 5.875 percent occupancy tax to the city or a 8.875 percent sales tax, as they must on rooms for tourists.

"Every day, we receive hundreds of additional asylum seekers and we are out of space," said Fabien Levy, a spokesman for Mr. Adams. "Our city is known for its world-class hotels, and we need to ensure they can continue to service the tens of millions of tourists who visit the five boroughs each year."

On Monday, Mr. Adams continued to call attention to the influx of migrants. He and Gov. Kathy Hochul sought to show a unified front at a news conference, urging the federal government to expedite work permits for asylum seekers, who they said were eager to find legal employment in the country.

Ms. Hochul, a Democrat, framed the need for expedited work authorization as a potential solution not only to the migrant crisis, but also to a labor shortage in the state, saying that many migrants could help fill thousands of low-skilled jobs in restaurants and in farms upstate.

"They're eager to work," Ms. Hochul said at a restaurant worker training facility in Industry City in Brooklyn. "They came here in search of work and a new future, and they can become part of our economy and part of our communities."

By pitching the influx of asylum seekers as a potential economic boon for the state, the governor may have been seeking to appeal to local officials outside New York City who have resisted any efforts to house migrants in their communities.

She said state officials were searching New York for state-run facilities that could serve as temporary housing, including empty dorms at public universities over the summer, as well as shuttered psychiatric centers and, potentially, closed correctional facilities.

Mr. Adams called on the White House to meet their requests, while stressing that the current situation was not sustainable. "It is creating an underground market where individuals could be exploited, unable to pay into our tax base, working long and difficult and dangerous jobs because they are living in the shadow of the American dream," he said.

Luis Ferré-Sadurní contributed reporting.

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Freeing an Innocent Man From Prison Ruined His Life

From Page A1

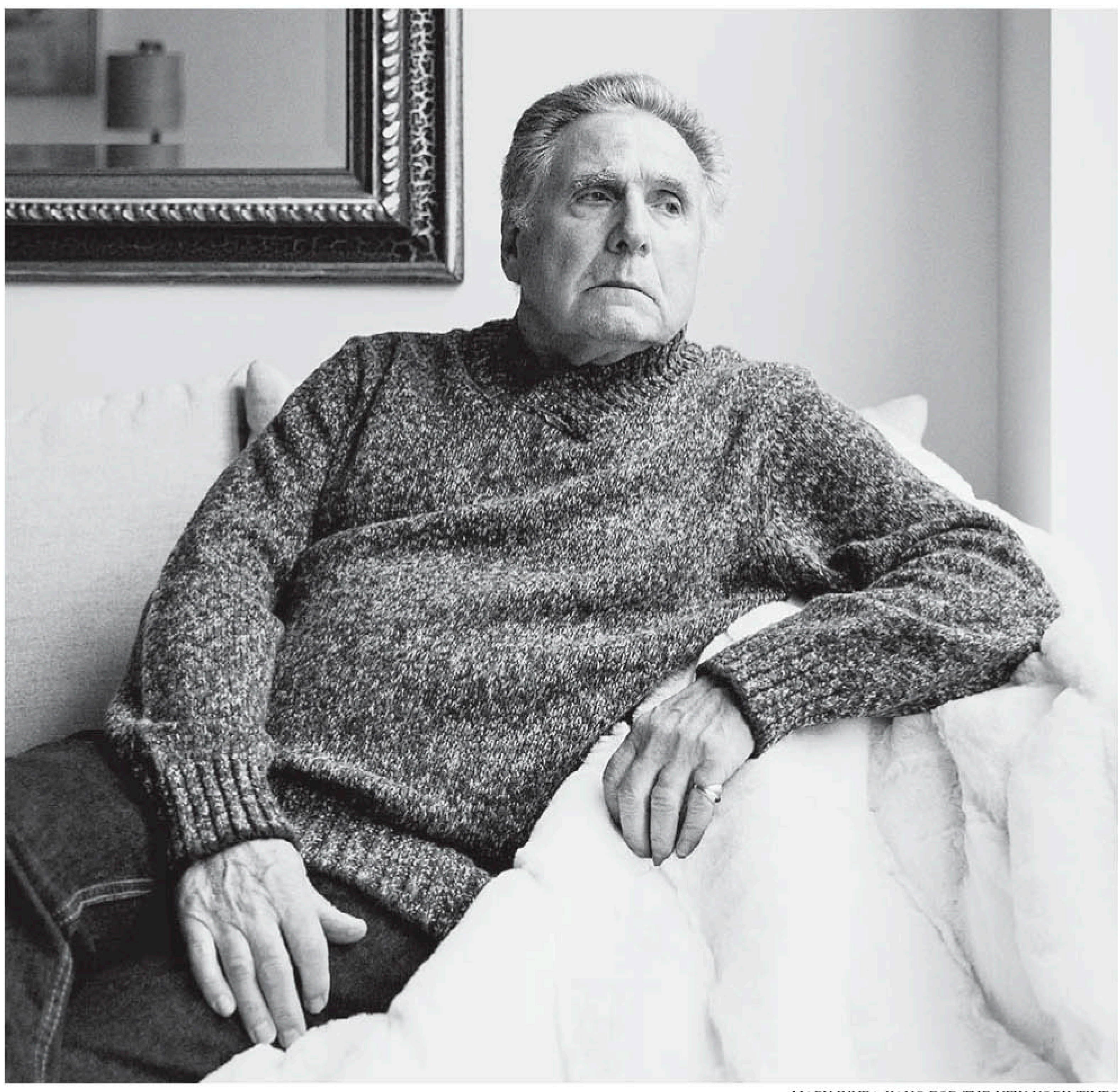
tion with a three-year barrage of ominous calls and emails seeking money from a former client: Martin Tankleff.

The Tankleff case had briefly put Mr. Salpeter, a son of Bayside, Queens, on the low rungs of celebrity. He was a guest on "The Oprah Winfrey Show," "Dr. Phil" and "Nancy Grace." He and Mr. Tankleff formed an investigative firm, Fortress Innocence Group, and introduced it at a splashy Manhattan news conference. Later came financial distress, mental health problems, heavy drinking and claims of impropriety lodged by angry clients.

Now, accused of threatening to harm Mr. Tankleff and ruin his reputation, Mr. Salpeter was facing the prospect of years in prison.

Mr. Salpeter, 71, had once said that, except for when his children were born, the day Mr. Tankleff left prison was the best day of his life. But by the time of his arraignment in May 2021, he regretted ever having opened Mr. Tankleff's urgent letter seeking his help all those years ago.

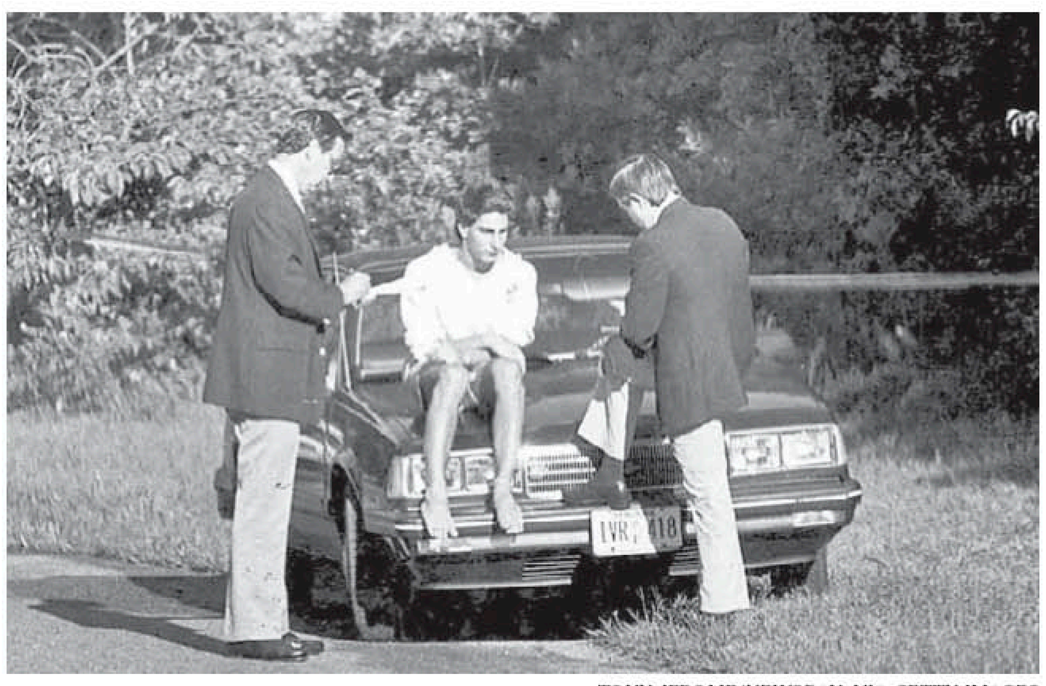
"I never had these problems before Marty," he said in one of several interviews over the past two years.



MARY INHEA KANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jay Salpeter, a retired private investigator, played a key role in freeing Martin Tankleff in 2007.

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, VIA GETTY IMAGES



TONY JEROME/NEWSDAY, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Left, Jerry Steuerman, a witness, during Martin Tankleff's trial. At right, detectives interviewing Mr. Tankleff in 1989 after the murder of his parents. He was found guilty but was later cleared.

JOE DeMARIA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Tankleff was greeted by family and friends after his release from prison. At right is Mr. Salpeter.

How It Began

On a September morning in 1988, Marty Tankleff, then 17, woke to find his mother, Arlene, fatally stabbed in her bed, and his father, Seymour, bleeding in the den, stabbed and beaten so badly he would die in a month. The boy called 911.

Marty, his relatives and others told investigators to focus on Jerry Steuerman, a shop owner who called himself the Bagel King of Long Island and who owed Seymour Tankleff $500,000.

Detectives homed in on Marty instead, partly because of what they said was his inadequate display of emotion. They obtained a quick confession with a lie: that Seymour Tankleff had briefly come to at the hospital and named Marty as the attacker.

The trial was sensational. When it was over, despite recanting, Marty was convicted on two counts of murder and sentenced to 25 years to life.

A decade later, in December 2000, a fellow prisoner from Long Island recommended that Mr. Tankleff, on a ceaseless drive to prove his innocence, contact Jay Salpeter.

By then, Mr. Salpeter had been a private investigator for a few years, starting with matrimonial and minor criminal cases after two decades with the New York Police Department as a beat cop, street decoy, hostage negotiator and homicide detective.

He was skeptical of Marty Tankleff. In fact, he thought he was guilty.

But after explaining that he could help Mr. Tankleff only if he was truly innocent — and then arranging a lie-detector test — Mr. Salpeter took the case. Unlike Mr. Tankleff's lawyers, he didn't work pro bono. He wasn't that liquid.

His fee: a flat $5,000.

The investigation would last more than six years.

A Thread to Tug At

Mr. Salpeter's first step was to review the thick case file. He was stunned by what he found. The killings had never been thoroughly investigated. The prosecution rested almost solely on the recanted confession. The supposed motive — a teenager's anger over a car his father had given him — was shaky; the physical evidence was scant; and the police had never treated Mr. Steuerman, the Bagel King, seriously as a suspect.

Mr. Salpeter found a thread to tug at in the statement of a woman who had told detectives that a local hoodlum had admitted his role in the murders to her, saying he had been at the Tankleffs' house with someone named Steuerman on the night of the attacks.

No one had followed up on the lead. Mr. Salpeter tracked down the hoodlum's criminal associates. One confessed to being the getaway driver and also implicated a third man in the crime. The statements underpinned a motion to reopen the case.

Mr. Salpeter brought a Long Island lawyer with whom he had worked before, Bruce Barket, onto the Tankleff team and continued to dig. He set up a tip line that yielded additional witnesses in an investigation that consumed thousands of hours.

The effort paid off. In 2007, the appeals court, citing the testimony unearthed by Mr. Salpeter and questionable police tactics in the original investigation, ordered a new trial. Suffolk County officials declined, and the attorney general dismissed the case entirely.

The alternate theory of the killings Mr. Salpeter had developed — that the three small-time criminals had executed the Tankleffs at Mr. Steuerman's behest — was never tested in court. Mr. Steuerman has always denied any role; no one else has ever been charged.

Still, Jay Salpeter had done what he was hired to do.

Playing Catch-Up

Mr. Tankleff made up for lost time. There were welcome-home parties, college classes and a gift of a custom-made suit from the actor James Gandolfini (Mr. Salpeter had introduced them). Mr. Tankleff spoke of becoming a lawyer and helping others who had been wrongly convicted. And he sued Suffolk County and New York State.

Mr. Salpeter was catching up too. He appeared on TV; collaborated on a book about the case; and joined the defense team that won the release of the West Memphis Three, three Arkansas men convicted as teenagers of killing three boys in what prosecutors called a cult ritual. The author Dominick Dunne hired him for help in a lawsuit. He aided the defense of Anthony Marshall, convicted of stealing from his mother, the socialite Brooke Astor.

In 2008, Mr. Salpeter and Mr. Tankleff teamed up to start the Fortress firm. The goal: Get work from corporate law firms on their pro bono cases. They celebrated at Peter Luger steakhouse the night before announcing the venture, whose logo showed a silhouette of two birds flying free. Rubin Carter, the former prizefighter and exoneree known as Hurricane, was at the news conference.

But the firm never got off the ground, and by 2011, Mr. Tankleff and Mr. Salpeter had fallen out.

Mr. Salpeter blamed Mr. Tankleff's wife, Laurie, whom he had met and married after leaving prison. The split came after a confrontation at the Long Island offices of Mr. Barket's firm, where the Tankleffs worked and where Mr. Salpeter kept an office.

After appearing suddenly at the door one day, the couple entered. They talked for a time, and then Ms. Tankleff unloaded on Mr. Salpeter, accusing him of maintaining his ties to Mr. Tankleff only for money.

Mr. Salpeter was livid. There was no money to speak of. The litigation against Suffolk County and New York State had not been resolved. The exchange became heated, and Mr. Salpeter screamed at Ms. Tankleff. Mr. Tankleff, in Mr. Salpeter's telling, sat by silently. (Mr. Tankleff filed for divorce from Laurie Tankleff last year; efforts to contact her through her lawyer were unsuccessful.)

Mr. Tankleff, who declined to be interviewed, offered others a different explanation for what had caused the estrangement. He felt as though Mr. Salpeter was trying to control him. He resented, among other things, being asked to help promote Mr. Salpeter's book and he thought Mr. Salpeter had invited him to his daughter's wedding to show him off. Yes, Mr. Salpeter had given him his life back. Why wouldn't he let him live it?

The relationship between the two men had gained one of them freedom and both of them a measure of fame. Suddenly, they were not even on speaking terms.

A Downward Spiral

Mr. Salpeter appeared to move on, often working for tabloid-infamous figures whose cases generated headlines, if not vindication — or the success he had enjoyed with Mr. Tankleff.

The financial problems that had begun while he worked on that case mounted, court records show. His home in Glen Cove went into foreclosure. Tens of thousands of dollars in federal and state tax liens piled up.

As Mr. Salpeter's fortunes declined, Mr. Tankleff prospered. After graduating from college and getting married, he earned a law degree. In 2014, he settled his suit against the state for $3.4 million. His lawyers took the typical third.

Mr. Salpeter, who had been paid several thousand dollars to consult on the civil suits, turned to Mr. Barket: Would he arrange a meeting with Mr. Tankleff to discuss whether there might be anything in the payout for him?

Mr. Tankleff did not want to meet, Mr. Barket said. And, he added, legal ethics prevented someone who was not a lawyer from participating in the settlement.

Mr. Salpeter sank into depression. Sometimes, he went to his office and slept. He spent a year, maybe two, mostly at home. His drinking increased. Several clients complained to state officials that he had not provided them with written contracts or detailed reports of the work he had done. He settled the matters with nominal fines.

The residual fame from the Tankleff case still attracted clients. One, Marina Lebron, met Mr. Salpeter in August 2014.

Ms. Lebron, whose husband was in prison for murder, was put off by how Mr. Salpeter bragged about his importance. Nonetheless, she paid him a $6,000 retainer to help get her husband out. Then, after hearing nothing for months, she confronted him. He apologized, sent her $2,000 and vowed to repay the rest. When he did not, she got a judgment against him. When he failed to pay that, she filed a complaint with the state.

The grievance was one of at least nine filed against Mr. Salpeter, state records show. One said he should be investigated "because he is taking advantage of inmates." Another said he had replied to inquiries with "excuses and mild threats."

Mr. Salpeter acknowledged that he had not always accomplished what the aggrieved clients had hoped, but he said they had unrealistic expectations.

Whatever he earned was not enough.

Over the next two years, Mr. Salpeter borrowed $120,000 in transactions documented on A.T.M. receipts, memo-pad pages and other paper scraps, according to a lawsuit the lender filed but later abandoned. With interest tacked on, the debt had reached $200,000 by late 2019.

Mr. Tankleff settled his suit against Suffolk County in April 2018 for $10 million. Mr. Salpeter again asked Mr. Barket if he might arrange a meeting with Mr. Tankleff in hopes of getting a share, he was again told no.

By then, when the workdays, such as they were, ended, Mr. Salpeter would hit the bar at Ruth's Chris steakhouse at the Roosevelt Field mall and have four or five vodka and tonics.

Drunk and depressed, he would bombard Mr. Tankleff with emails and phone messages demanding money. As time passed, the badgering turned darker.

"So Marty, do you think your freedom is worth 150-200k?" Mr. Salpeter wrote in a February 2020 email shared by someone close to Mr. Tankleff. "It's better than being at Clinton," he added, referring to the upstate prison where the two had first met.

In another email several months later, he asked whether Mr. Tankleff could "recommend a good lawyer for a homicide arrest."

Mr. Salpeter would contact Mr. Tankleff several times a day, dropping references to how strong he was or how he had just seen the movie "Dead Man Walking." Sometimes he commented on changes in his former client's appearance in ways that made Mr. Tankleff feel he was being stalked by a man who he knew was licensed to carry a gun.

Mr. Tankleff tried at least once to defuse the situation, telling Mr. Salpeter via email that he was not ignoring his messages, but blocking them on the advice of lawyers and others. When the time was right, he wrote, he would arrange a meeting.

No meeting ever occurred.

A Halfhearted Defense

Mr. Barket warned Mr. Salpeter repeatedly to stop. He did not. That left Mr. Tankleff with three choices: Let the calls and emails continue, pay Mr. Salpeter or go to the authorities. He chose the last one.

When Mr. Salpeter was indicted, Mr. Tankleff responded with a brief statement calling it a sad day. Mr. Salpeter denied doing anything sinister and insisted he would never hurt his former client but he admitted to the calls and emails.

His lawyers suggested a psychiatric defense: Depression, aggravated by heavy drinking, and post-traumatic stress caused by his police career and his experience with Mr. Tankleff were to blame.

A few months after he was indicted, a hearing on Ms. Lebron's complaint was held in a drab government room in Lower Manhattan. Because of the pandemic, the participants — an administrative judge, a state lawyer, Ms. Lebron and Mr. Salpeter — appeared via video monitor. A reporter and two state employees were the only ones physically present in the room.

Mr. Salpeter's defense was halfhearted. He did not deny the gist of the allegations, although he produced a document he said he had secured for Ms. Lebron's benefit. He was a victim of unrealistic expectations, he maintained.

Several weeks later, the administrative judge, citing dishonesty and incompetence, suspended his license. Mr. Salpeter had already contacted state officials to relinquish it.

The criminal case ended quietly. Mr. Salpeter pleaded guilty last June to aggravated harassment, a misdemeanor. He was sentenced to three years of probation and ordered to stay away from Mr. Tankleff, now a lawyer at Mr. Barket's firm. When the brief hearing ended, Mr. Salpeter thanked the judge politely and headed out into the sweltering heat.

Nine months later, at the Glen Cove apartment he shares with his third wife, Amy, Mr. Salpeter appeared sober, reflective and mostly retired — though he still sends hectoring emails to Mr. Barket. He said he was mainly filling his time with exercise, Alcoholics Anonymous meetings and sessions with a psychotherapist. He and his wife live off his police pension, Social Security and what she brings in.

He can no longer carry a gun and is, for all practical purposes, done investigating.

"That was my passion," he said wistfully. "I was good."

As he spoke, he paused and pulled out a list of his most notable clients and cases. At the top was a familiar name: Martin Tankleff.

Was it a source of pride or regret?

"I would do it again," Mr. Salpeter said.

No Plea Made By Suspect In the Killing Of 4 in Idaho

By MIKE BAKER and NICHOLAS BOGEL-BURROUGHS

MOSCOW, Idaho — The man accused of murdering four college students during a predawn intrusion at their house near the University of Idaho declined to enter a plea to the charges on Monday, electing to "stand silent" during the first step in what promises to be a lengthy legal process.

Judge John C. Judge said he would enter a not-guilty plea for the defendant, Bryan Kohberger, after Mr. Kohberger's lawyer, Anne Taylor, said her client had elected not to enter any plea at this stage. A trial was set to begin in October in Moscow, the quiet Idaho college town that had not recorded a murder in the seven years before the four students were killed on Nov. 13.

Investigators have said in court records that they linked Mr. Kohberger to the killings with the help of DNA found on a knife sheath at the crime scene, as well as through surveillance video that showed a car similar to his near the house around the time of the killings.

At that time, Mr. Kohberger was studying for a doctorate in criminology at Washington State University, a few miles across the state border from the University of Idaho campus. Prosecutors have not disclosed any prior connections between him and any of the four victims — Madison Mogen, 21; Kaylee Goncalves, 21; Xana Kernodle, 20; and Ethan Chapin, 20.

In the hours before the killings, Ms. Mogen and Ms. Goncalves were out at a bar, and they stopped at a food truck before returning home. Ms. Kernodle and Mr. Chapin were at a party.

Investigators said that the victims and two other people who lived in the house were home by 2 a.m. on Nov. 13. After that, investigators have said, surveillance video showed a white car appearing repeatedly next to the house. Mr. Kohberger drove a white Hyundai Elantra. The authorities said Mr. Kohberger's cellphone was moving through the region in the early morning hours, but was disconnected from cell networks — perhaps it had been turned off, they said — during a two-hour period around the time of the killings.

Investigators spent weeks looking for a suspect in the case. Eventually, they learned that DNA they had found on the knife sheath was related to DNA they found at Mr. Kohberger's family home in Pennsylvania, where Mr. Kohberger had gone in early December at the end of the fall semester. He was arrested in the state on Dec. 30.

Mr. Kohberger's lawyers had been preparing for a lengthy preliminary hearing in the case that was scheduled to take place at the end of June, but a grand jury indictment last week made that hearing unnecessary. Much of the evidence gathered by prosecutors that could have been made public at such a hearing will instead remain undisclosed for now.

Mr. Kohberger arrived at the hearing on Monday in an orange jumpsuit, with shackles around his ankles. As he looked out across the packed courtroom toward a group of relatives of the victims, they stared at him in silence.

Mr. Kohberger repeatedly responded "yes" as he was asked whether he understood each of the charges against him, and whether he understood that he could face life in prison or the death penalty if convicted on each of the four murder counts.

The refusal to enter a plea at this point is unlikely to have a significant effect on the case, said Eve Brensike Primus, a law professor at the University of Michigan and an expert in criminal procedure.

Ms. Primus said that lawyers may recommend that course when they expected to argue that their client was not competent to stand trial or is not guilty by reason of insanity.

Idaho is one of four states that does not provide explicitly for insanity pleas, but defendants in the state can introduce testimony at trial to show that, as a result of mental illness, they are not guilty of certain elements of a crime, like the "malice aforethought" that must be proved for a jury to convict a defendant of murder.

The hearing on Monday started the clock on a 60-day period in which prosecutors must decide whether to seek the death penalty. The parents of one victim, Ms. Goncalves, have said they want the death penalty if Mr. Kohberger is convicted.

In a statement after the hearing on Monday, the Goncalves family said the hearing was "just the beginning of a long journey for all the families."

Mike Baker reported from Moscow, Idaho, and Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs from New York.

More National news appears on Page A22.

Opinion

The New York Times

THE CONVERSATION | GAIL COLLINS AND BRET STEPHENS

The Republican Presidential Plot Is Thickening

Bret Stephens: Hi, Gail. The field vying for the Republican presidential nomination is growing: Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina officially announced his candidacy on Monday and Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida is expected to do so soon. Any free advice you want to offer them on how they can beat you-know-who?

Gail Collins: Gee, Bret, I guess they could both use a little help being faster on their feet when they're surrounded by curious reporters. But it's not like I'm rooting for either of them. I've already told you — with multitudinous qualifications — that if I was locked up in a room and forced to choose between DeSantis and Trump, I'd beat my head against the wall and then pick the Donald.

Bret: Gail! No! No, no, no, no. You're reminding me of the old "Bad Idea Jeans" skit from "Saturday Night Live," in which a bunch of middle-aged guys bat around some really, really terrible brainstorms: "Well, he's an ex-freebase addict, and he's trying to turn his life around, and he needs a place to stay for a couple of months . . . ."

What about Tim Scott?

Gail: Scott hasn't been a serious enough possibility for me to worry about. Give me a little more time to judge what looks like it will be a growing throng.

You're the one who's in charge of Republicans. Nikki Haley was your fave. Is she showing any serious promise? Who's next on your list?

Bret: Scott has a $22 million campaign war chest, which alone makes him a potentially serious contender. He speaks the Reaganesque language of hope, which is a nice contrast to the vituperative and vengeful styles of Don and Ron. He's got an inspiring, up-from-poverty life story that will resonate with a lot of voters. He has the potential to attract minority voters to the G.O.P. and, as important, appeal to middle-of-the-road voters who might be persuaded to cast a ballot for a Republican provided they won't feel guilty or embarrassed by it.

All he needs is to work on his answers to those pesky questions about his position on abortion. As for DeSantis, he needs to stop coming across as a colossal, monomaniacal, humorless, lecturesome and tedious jerk, the Ted Cruz of this campaign season.

Gail: Well, your recipe for Scott certainly does seem more doable. Sorta depressing, though, that we judge potential candidates for the highest office in the land by their ability to raise money, a lot of it from special interests. Sure, there are folks out there planning to send Tim $10 online, but we're basically talking about big money donors.

Bret: Sorry, but is it any different from Democrats? Didn't President Biden just headline a $25,000-a-plate fund-raiser at the home of a former Blackstone exec? Our standards have become so debased in the last few years that I'm grateful for anything that passes as politics as usual.

Gail: Sigh. Moving on — I guess we should talk about the debt limit negotiations. Any deep thoughts?

Bret: Not sure if they're deep, but the Republican insistence on capping spending at 2022 levels is going to cripple military spending in the very decade in which we face serious strategic competition. I'm all for budget discipline, but the G.O.P.'s rediscovery of fiscal purity is fundamentally at odds with its tough-on-China stance. It also reminds me of the composer Oscar Levant's quip: "I knew Doris Day before she was a virgin."

DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES

Scott added his name, and DeSantis isn't far off.

Gail: I always love your quotes, but fitting in Oscar Levant may be a new high.

Bret: All joking aside, I think the Biden administration would be smart to make a few concessions on spending, both because it's the right thing to do and because it will help pin the blame on Republicans in the event we end up in default and possibly recession. Your thoughts?

Gail: Biden's clearly ready to go there. What we're watching is a dance to see who gets the most credit for avoiding default while avoiding super-outrage from the base.

Bret: Big problem here is that too much of the Republican base is basically unappeasable. They'd rather put the nation's finances in a wooden barrel and send it hurtling over Niagara Falls than be accused of compromising with Democrats.

Gail: One of the Republicans' big yelling points has been a stricter requirement that able-bodied people who get federal aid should do some kind of work for it.

Most people aren't against that in theory, but the enforcement is a big, potentially expensive pain that could lead to deserving people getting cut off by bureaucratic snafus and causing big trouble for some single mothers. Without any real turnaround in the status quo.

I find it deeply irritating, but I'm kinda reconciled to the idea that something will happen. You're a big supporter, right?

Bret: The work requirements of the 1996 welfare reform bill were one of the best achievements of the decade — and helped make Bill Clinton a two-term president. Even if enforcement is difficult, it's politically, financially and morally preferable to subsidizing indolence.

Switching subjects, Gail — Democrats were enraged when DeSantis and the governor of Texas, Greg Abbott, started busing migrants north to New York City and other self-declared sanctuary cities. Now the mayor of New York, Eric Adams, is declaring a crisis and busing some of those same migrants out of the city, often to the consternation of nearby smaller cities like Newburgh that are straining under the weight of the new arrivals. Are you ready to denounce Adams?

Gail: Not quite the same thing, Bret. States like Texas have a permanent relationship with countries across the border — it's part of their economy. In times like this, the rest of the country should offer support, from good border enforcement to services for the needy. And, of course, accept these folks if they come to our states of their own volition.

Bret: Not quite sure why some states should bear a heavier share of the immigration burden just because they happen to be next to Mexico, particularly when immigration enforcement is primarily a federal responsibility. I think we in the nonborder states have so far sort of failed to appreciate the scale of the crisis and the burden it has imposed on border towns.

Gail: We know Texas has been mass-shipping immigrants to places like New York to make a political score, not solve a problem.

Bret: Well, both are possible.

Gail: Adams isn't the best-organized mayor in history, but I don't think even a great administrator could have successfully coped with all of this. There just aren't enough places in the city for these people to go. And Gov. Kathy Hochul had big plans for expanding housing around the state, which were killed off by nonurban lawmakers.

It's true some of the smaller cities have also been flooded with needy newcomers. But there are plenty of wealthier suburban and rural communities that could do a lot more. Having spent part of my career covering state government for suburban papers, I can tell you there's nothing that a lot of those towns hate/fear/oppose more than programs that bring in lower-income would-be residents.

Bret: As a matter of moral conviction, I believe we ought to be welcoming to strangers. And I'm mindful that my mother arrived in this country as a refugee, albeit one who waited year after year for a U.S. visa.

But as a matter of politics, the Biden administration's performance has been disastrous. In the next New York City budget, emergency migrant aid is projected to cost more than the city's Fire Department. Every government has a far greater responsibility toward its own citizens — especially the neediest — than it does to people who arrive here in violation of the law. And if Biden doesn't get an effective handle on the border, he's going to turn the entire country against immigrants in a way that will permanently damage our spirit of openness.

Gail: This is going to require a lot more arguing in the future.

Bret: We'll put it aside for now. In the meantime, the most profound, meaningful and soul-rending article in The Times for as long as I can remember is our colleague Sarah Wildman's essay about the loss of her daughter Orli, at age 14. Where there are no words, Sarah found the words:

> Recently, several people quietly told me that she had helped them in some way, inspired them or helped them with their pain. If she could continue to engage, to be concerned beyond herself, they could, too. Her instinct was always to assist, to write to the kid on the other side of the country struggling with chemo-related hair loss, to find out if a friend's sibling headed to the hospital needed advice on how to navigate hospital time, to see if a newly diagnosed child wanted tips on making life in cancer care more bearable, or even to encourage someone going through a divorce to dance. And so, even when I'm crushed with grief, Orli continues to teach me. Some of the lessons are basic but worth repeating: It matters to reach out, over and over, even in minor ways. It matters to visit. It matters to care.

May Orli's memory always be for a blessing.

Gail: Bret, this one is so moving, I have to throw in one last comment: Agreed, agreed.

COLUMNIST | DAVID BROOKS

Tim Keller Taught Me About Joy

TIM KELLER WAS a recliner. Whenever a particular group of my friends would get together, discussing some personal, social or philosophical issue over Zoom during the past few years, you could see Tim just chilling and enjoying it, lounging back in his chair. The conversation would flow, and finally somebody would ask: "Tim, what do you think?"

He'd start slow, with that wry, friendly smile. He'd mention a relevant John Bunyan poem, then an observation Kierkegaard had made or a pattern the historian David Bebbington had noticed. Then Tim would synthesize it all into the four crucial points that pierced the clouds of confusion and brought you to a new layer of understanding.

I used to think of it as the Keller Clarity Beam. He didn't make these points in a didactic or professorial way. It was more like: Hey, you're thirsty. I happen to have this glass of water. Want a sip?

It was this skill that made Tim Keller, who died on Friday at 72, one of the most important theologians and greatest preachers of our time.

American evangelicalism suffers from an intellectual inferiority complex that sometimes turns into straight anti-intellectualism. But Tim could draw on a vast array of intellectual sources to argue for the existence of God, to draw piercing psychological insights from the troubling parts of Scripture or to help people through moments of suffering. His voice was warm, his observations crystal clear. We all tried to act cool around Tim, but we knew we had a giant in our midst.

Erudition was not the core of who he was. Early in his career he pastored a church in the small town of Hopewell, Va., where only 5 percent of the high school graduates went on to college. References to Hannah Arendt were not the right way to connect. But Tim had this uplifting sense that the hard part about faith is persuading yourself to believe in something so wonderful.

On the cross, Tim wrote, Jesus was "putting himself into our lives — our misery, our mortality, so we could be brought into his life, his joy and immortality." He enjoyed repeating the saying "Cheer up! You're a worse sinner than you ever dared imagine and you're more loved than you ever dared hope."

Tim spent most of his career at Redeemer Presbyterian Church in Manhattan, ministering to young, highly educated people in finance, medicine, publishing and the arts — often fallen-away Christians, seekers and atheists. Tim found himself surrounded by people with the unquenched thirsts of modern life, the deep longings that work, autonomy and moral relativism had failed to satisfy.

He didn't fight a culture war against that Manhattan world. His focus was not on politics but on "our own disordered hearts, wracked by inordinate desires for things that control us, that lead us to feel superior and exclude those without them, that fail to satisfy us even when we get them."

He offered a radically different way. He pointed people to Jesus, and through Jesus' example to a life of self-sacrificial service. That may seem unrealistic; doesn't the world run on self-interest? But Tim and his wife, Kathy, wrote a wonderful book, "The Meaning of Marriage," which in effect argued that self-sacrificial love is actually the only practical way to get what you really hunger for.

After some time in marriage, they counseled, you're going to realize that the wonderful person you married is actually kind of selfish. And as you realize this about him, he is realizing this about you.

The only way forward is to recognize that your own selfishness is the only selfishness you can control; your self-centeredness is the problem here. Love is an action, not just an emotion, and the marriage will only thrive if both people in it make daily sacrificial commitments to each other, learning to serve and, harder still, be served. "Whether we are husband or wife," the Kellers wrote, "we are not to live for ourselves but for the other. And that is the hardest yet single most important function of being a husband or a wife in marriage."

One of the most important theologians and greatest preachers of our time.

SASHA MASLOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tim's happy and generous manner was based on the conviction that we are born wired to seek delight, and we can find it. "Anybody who has tasted the reality of God knows anything is worth losing for this," Tim preached, "and nothing is worth keeping if I'm going to lose this."

Tim kept contact with his friends as he was dying of pancreatic cancer — one time even calling into our group Zoom from a hospital emergency room. He told us that he and Kathy cried a lot during these last few years, but their faith became more real. In an essay for The Atlantic, he wrote that he never experienced more grief than when dying, but he had never experienced more happiness either.

Tim was confident, cheerful and at peace as he spiraled down toward death and up toward his maker. His passing has made us all very sad, but if you go back and listen to his sermons, which you should, you come back to gratitude for his life and to the old questions: Death, where is your victory? Where is your sting?

COLUMNIST | MICHELLE GOLDBERG

Texas Tortures Pregnant Women Who Need Care

NITASHIA JOHNSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Lauren Miller in March. She had to leave Texas to get an abortion and protect the life of a viable twin fetus.

IT'S INCREASINGLY CLEAR that it's not safe to be pregnant in states with total abortion bans. Since the end of Roe v. Wade, there have been a barrage of gutting stories about women in prohibition states denied care for miscarriages or forced to continue nonviable pregnancies. Though some in the anti-abortion movement publicly justify this sort of treatment, others have responded with a combination of denial, deflection and conspiracy theorizing.

Some activists have blamed the pro-choice movement for spooking doctors into not intervening when pregnancies go horribly wrong. "Abortion advocates are spreading the dangerous lie that lifesaving care is not or may not be permitted in these states, leading to provider confusion and poor outcomes for women," said a report by the anti-abortion Charlotte Lozier Institute.

Others have suggested that doctors are deliberately refusing miscarriage treatment, apparently to make anti-abortion laws look bad. "What we're seeing, I fear, is doctors with an agenda saying, 'Well, I don't know what to do' when, in fact, they do," the president of Ohio Right to Life said last year.

A new filing in a Texas lawsuit demolishes these arguments. In March, five women represented by the Center for Reproductive Rights sued Texas after enduring medical nightmares when they were refused abortions for pregnancies that had gone awry. Since then, the center says it has heard from dozens of women in Texas with similar accounts. And this week, eight more women, each with her own harrowing story, joined the suit, which asks a state district court to clarify the scope of emergency medical exceptions to Texas' abortion ban.

There's one woman among the new plaintiffs who recounted terrible mistreatment in a religiously affiliated hospital as she waited to either go into labor or get sick enough to merit an abortion. But in most of these cases, the women described their doctors as struggling to do the right thing. The problem was the law, not the doctors' misunderstanding of it.

Elizabeth Weller, for example, was hospitalized after her water broke at 19 weeks. She was given antibiotics and, according to the suit, instructed to pray. Her OB/GYN concluded that, without an abortion, she risked an infection and could lose her uterus or even her life. The hospital administration, however, refused to clear the procedure because the antibiotics made such an infection less likely.

"Elizabeth was told that she could either discontinue antibiotics and stay in the hospital to wait to develop an infection and get sicker; or she could go home and look out for signs of infection," said the filing. She went home. "With every passing day, I felt the state's intentional cruelty," Weller said during a news conference on Monday. "My baby would not survive and my life didn't matter." Her doctor, she said, called around trying to find another hospital that would treat her. "All of those hospitals told my doctor that they have patients just like me in those situations and they can't touch them," she said.

If this isn't what anti-abortion groups want, why won't they fix it?

Two of the women in the original suit, Lauren Miller and Ashley Brandt, had been pregnant with twins. Each discovered that one of her twins had severe abnormalities and wouldn't survive. In both cases, only by aborting the doomed twin could they protect the life of the viable one, as well as their own health.

Texas doctors can do little for women in this excruciating situation. Given a state law that lets people sue anyone who "aids or abets" an abortion, many are fearful even to counsel their patients about out-of-state options. "In every interaction with their medical team in Texas, Lauren M. and her husband felt confused and frustrated and could not get direct answers," says the lawsuit. Both Miller and her doctors were afraid to even utter the word "abortion."

Now Miller's obstetrician, Austin Dennard, has joined the lawsuit, not as a doctor but as a patient. Shortly before Miller's devastating diagnosis, Dennard had been pregnant with what she hoped would be her third child when she learned that the fetus had anencephaly, giving it no chance of survival. She left the state for an abortion, as Miller would later do. Seeing Miller endure the same ordeal that she had, and then watching her go public about it, inspired Dennard to do so as well, despite fears about what it could mean for her career.

"This is not some isolated incident of one doctor misunderstanding the law," said Molly Duane of the Center for Reproductive Rights. "This is a widespread, pervasive fear throughout the medical community."

If the anti-abortion movement were interested in allaying this fear, it might consider joining this suit, or filing one of its own. Perhaps needless to say, that hasn't happened.

One of the new plaintiffs in the suit, a mother of four named Samantha Casiano, was forced to carry to term a fetus that she knew would not survive after birth, spending months fund-raising for the inevitable funeral. Reporting on Casiano's case in April, NPR spoke to Amy O'Donnell of Texas Alliance for Life. O'Donnell was at least honest. She doesn't believe in exemptions for cases like Casiano's. "I do believe the Texas laws are working as designed," she said.

COLUMNIST | PAUL KRUGMAN

Working From Home and the Meaning of Life

THE U.S. ECONOMY has experienced a remarkable recovery from the Covid recession of 2020. The much-feared scarring effects of the pandemic never materialized: Employment, labor force participation and gross domestic product are right back in line with projections made before the pandemic struck.

We're still waiting to see whether House Republicans will squander that achievement by pushing America into a completely gratuitous debt crisis. But today I thought I'd take a break from the anxiety and talk about one important way in which the U.S. economy is doing even better than the standard numbers suggest. For one silver lining of the Covid crisis has been a major change in the way Americans work; we're wasting a lot less time and fewer resources on commuting.

The other day my colleague Farhad Manjoo wrote an excellent article about the benefits of reduced commuting, which inspired me to take a deeper dive into the issue. Although it has its downsides — what doesn't? — the shift to remote and hybrid work is, overall, a very good thing, even if (or maybe especially if) Elon Musk hates it.

The shift to remote work is also a teachable moment, in at least two ways. First, it's an object lesson in the fact that taking advantage of new technological possibilities often requires major changes in how business operates. Second, it's a reminder that economic numbers like G.D.P., while useful, can sometimes be misleading indicators of what really matters in life.

First things first: The reduction in commuting time is a seriously big deal. Before the pandemic, the average American adult spent about 0.28 hours per day, or more than 100 hours a year, on work-related travel. (Since not all adults are employed, the number for workers was considerably higher.) By 2021, that number had fallen by about a quarter.

Putting a dollar value on the benefits from reduced commuting is tricky. You can't simply multiply the time saved by average wages, because people probably don't view time spent on the road (yes, most people drive to work) as fully lost. On the other hand, there are many other expenses, from fuel to wear and tear to psychological strain, associated with commuting. On the third hand, the option of remote or hybrid work tends to be available mainly to highly educated workers with above-average wages and hence a high value associated with their time.

But it's not hard to make the case that the overall benefits from not commuting every day are equivalent to a gain in national income of at least one and maybe several percentage points. That's a lot: There are very few policy proposals likely to produce gains on that scale. And yes, these are real benefits. C.E.O.s may rant about lazy or (per Musk) "immoral" workers who don't want to go back into their cubicles, but the purpose of an economy is not to make bosses happy.

What's interesting is that this transformation of the way many Americans work wasn't driven by new technology. True, it wouldn't have been possible if many people didn't have fast internet connections, but the big surge in home broadband took place from 2000 to 2010, then leveled off. It was only under the pressure of the pandemic that businesses learned to take advantage of the technological possibility of remote work.

The thing is, while the pandemic economy is now behind us, the change in how we work is looking permanent. Overall, work from home looks like a classic example of an infant industry — an initially uncompetitive industry given a temporary boost (typically provided by tariffs or subsidies but in this case by a virus) that learns by doing and remains competitive even after the support is removed.

If the rise in remote work does turn out to be permanent, it will have profound economic effects, with some losers (such as commercial real estate and the tax bases of many cities) but many winners. One thing it won't do, however, is show up as a rise in measured G.D.P.: The time Americans waste in traffic jams isn't subtracted from national income, and the time they spend with their families isn't added.

I'm not one of those critics who say that G.D.P. is a useless number; it's an informative statistic and not easily replaced. But it can be misleading when societies make different choices. Anyone who does international comparisons knows that America has higher G.D.P. per capita than European countries but that a large part of the difference doesn't reflect higher U.S. productivity; it reflects the fact that Europeans get a lot of vacation time, while we're the "no-vacation nation." So are we better off? Are you sure?

Reduced commuting time won't raise G.D.P. But that's not important.

Now we're seeing major gains at home that aren't captured in G.D.P. True, these gains are accruing largely to higher-income workers, which is unfortunate; however, we've also seen large wage gains at the bottom, somewhat alleviating the unfairness.

And one implication is that if we look at what an economy is for — namely, to serve human needs, not generate favorable statistics — America's bounce back from the pandemic has been even more impressive than you may realize.

LETTERS

Eric Adams and the Migrants in New York

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "In New York City, Outrage Over the Options for Housing Migrants" (front page, May 19):

In his defensive posture against those who don't want migrants housed in school gyms — "What have *you* done for the migrants?" — Mayor Eric Adams fails to recognize and support the amazing individuals and organizations in the city who *are* welcoming these individuals, providing them food, clothing and services.

Even worse, he has now thrown those volunteer groups out of the Port Authority and denied them access to the hotels.

The mayor touts the diversity of faiths that are part of the city's fabric, but is now apparently denying entry or access to the mosques, churches and synagogues in all boroughs that are organizing welcomes, sheltering and serving these newcomers.

In a final insult, his spokesman, Fabien Levy, now blames those groups for encouraging people to arrive. This is false and meanspirited from beginning to end. He should be ashamed.

RUTH W. MESSINGER
AIX-EN-PROVENCE, FRANCE

The writer, a social justice consultant, was a member of the New York City Council (1978-88) and the Democratic nominee for mayor of New York in 1997.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Criticizing Biden, Adams Diverges From Democrats" (front page, May 21):

Mayor Eric Adams is absolutely justified in his persistent and vocal advocacy relative to the immigrant crisis in New York City. His requests for help, both financial and strategic, are entirely reasonable.

The crisis is, in fact, a national one requiring federal action to cope with it. The burden on New York City that it has created is disproportionate, unfair and unsustainable. And a federal grant of $30 million when the city is facing a $4.3 billion hole in its budget is laughable.

The mayor's first responsibility is the well-being of his constituency, not the possible effect his advocacy might have on President Biden's campaign. If and when the help arrives, the criticism will cease.

And as for being "conspicuously absent" from the Biden campaign's list of surrogates, if the president starts diverting migrants to the cities on that list as he should, you can be sure the mayors of those cities will be right beside Mayor Adams protesting just as loudly!

JAY ADOLF, NEW YORK

An Afghan Odyssey, With America as the Goal

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Stranded Afghans Risk Crossing a Jungle" (front page, May 21):

I know I speak for my cohort of Peace Corps volunteers who had the privilege of serving in Afghanistan in the mid-1960s and early 1970s, and for the nonprofit with which I am affiliated, the Afghan Girls Financial Assistance Fund.

For a country that welcomed us, embraced us (literally and figuratively) and displayed such warmth and hospitality to each of us, it is heartbreaking and painful to read this piece.

The Afghan people gave to each of us far more than we could have ever imagined. Our lives were truly changed forever.

How ironic that the Afghans who did so much to support and protect the Americans present in their country and who manifest all those admirable human traits that we Americans espouse have had the welcome mat pulled out from under them. Shame on us.

JONATHAN GREENBURG
NORTH CALDWELL, N.J.

TO THE EDITOR:

I understand the impulse to pin the human tragedy for many Afghans on the Biden administration's withdrawal from Afghanistan. But to do so excuses the combined effects of almost 20 years of failed U.S. policy in Afghanistan across Republican and Democratic administrations.

U.S. imperialism is a fool's errand. I'm so sorry that Taiba and her family, featured in your article, and so many other Afghans are paying the terrible human cost. How about if next year the U.S. government owns up to its mistakes and welcomes 250,000 Afghans?

JEREMY PRESSMAN
WEST HARTFORD, CONN.

The writer is a professor of political science and the director of Middle East studies at the University of Connecticut.

Aid to Ukraine

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "A Vocal G.O.P. Minority Pledges It Will Complicate More Aid for Ukrainians" (news article, May 20):

You can believe that Vladimir Putin and his cronies should be tried as war criminals — and you can never have voted for a Republican presidential nominee — and still believe that Republicans opposed to unqualified military and financial support for Ukraine are on to something.

There are three very good reasons: Vietnam, Iraq and the endless attempt at nation-building in Afghanistan. Essential facts about what led to these wars and how they were carried out contradicted the official casus belli and eroded public support. Count on a similar pattern for the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Although no American troops' lives are at stake, neither is anything essential to our security. Many Americans believe that Europe is old enough to solve its own problems.

CARLYN MEYER
ENGLEWOOD, COLO.

Gender Identity

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Texas Bans Medical Care for Minors in Transition" (news article, May 18):

There is clearly a generational tectonic shift in gender identity going on. Legislation to prevent young people from getting high-quality transition medical care ignores the recommendations of America's leading medical organizations. This law is a cynical, dishonest play for votes and money. It is no way to treat our kids.

BOB SALZMAN, NEW YORK

Cruelty of Horse Racing

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "A Requiem for 7 Thoroughbreds" (Sports, May 20) and "A Baffert Horse Wins on the Same Day That Another Is Fatally Injured" (Sports, May 21):

Reading these articles was sickening. Eight magnificent animals were exploited, destroyed and disposed of for money and thrills for greedy humans.

Horses may love to run, but the canard that they love to race in these insane competitions is surely as false as the claim that dogs and roosters love to fight. For all its fancy trappings, horse racing is no better than other forms of animal cruelty that civilized society has outlawed.

Let humans race if they are so motivated, but stop glamorizing the torture, including racing, of helpless animals for sport.

JUDY OLINICK, MIDDLEBURY, VT.

Hating the Office, Too

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Office Workers Don't Hate the Office. They Hate the Commute," by Farhad Manjoo (column, May 22):

No, some of us hate the office also — the annoying meetings, the corporate office politics, the soul-sucking fluorescent lighting, the key cards, the unnecessary jargon (and the more nouns the better, apparently), the people scheduling you for meetings without checking first to make sure you're available, the email the email the email, the pointless boosterism, the loud talkers, the people who can't be bothered to do things properly and/or are always asking the same questions about the same things, and so on.

I miss neither the commute nor the office.

KEVIN J. O'CONNER
BELLINGHAM, WASH.

Information Is Sought on Trump's Foreign Deals

*This article is by **Alan Feuer**, **Maggie Haberman** and **Ben Protess**.*

Federal prosecutors overseeing the investigation into former President Donald J. Trump's handling of classified documents have issued a subpoena for information about Mr. Trump's business dealings in foreign countries since he took office, according to two people familiar with the matter.

It remains unclear precisely what the prosecutors were hoping to find by sending the subpoena to Mr. Trump's company, the Trump Organization, or when it was issued. But the subpoena suggests that investigators have cast a wider net than previously understood as they scrutinize whether he broke the law in taking sensitive government materials with him upon leaving the White House and then not fully complying with demands for their return.

SOPHIE PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A subpoena was issued in the inquiry into Donald J. Trump's handling of classified documents.

The subpoena — drafted by the office of the special counsel, Jack Smith — sought details on the Trump Organization's real estate licensing and development dealings in seven countries: China, France, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Oman, according to the people familiar with the matter. The subpoena sought the records for deals reached since 2017, when Mr. Trump was sworn in as president.

The Trump Organization swore off any foreign deals while he was in the White House, and the only such deal Mr. Trump is known to have made since then was with a Saudi-based real estate company to license its name to a housing, hotel and golf complex that will be built in Oman. He struck that deal last fall just before announcing his third presidential campaign.

The push by Mr. Smith's prosecutors to gain insight into the former president's foreign business was part of a subpoena — previously reported by The New York Times — that was sent to the Trump Organization and sought records related to Mr. Trump's dealings with a Saudi-backed golf venture known as LIV Golf, which is holding tournaments at some of his golf clubs. (Mr. Trump's arrangement with LIV Golf was reached well after he removed documents from the White House.)

Collectively, the subpoena's demand for records related to the golf venture and other foreign ventures since 2017 suggests that Mr. Smith is exploring whether there is any connection between Mr. Trump's deal-making abroad and the classified documents he took with him when he left office.

It is unclear what material the Trump Organization has turned over in response to the subpoena or whether Mr. Smith has obtained any separate evidence supporting that theory. But since the start of their investigation, prosecutors have sought to understand not only what sorts of materials Mr. Trump removed from the White House, but also why he might have taken them with him.

Among the government documents discovered in Mr. Trump's possession were some related to Middle Eastern countries, according to a person familiar with Mr.

A focus on business discussions with seven countries since 2017.

Smith's work. And when the F.B.I. executed a search warrant in August 2022 at Mar-a-Lago, Mr. Trump's private club and residence in Florida, among the items recovered was material related to President Emmanuel Macron of France, according to court records.

A spokesman for Mr. Trump did not respond to emails seeking comment. A Trump Organization spokeswoman did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Mr. Trump has long argued that the documents belonged to him and that he need not return them to the government. When the Justice Department subpoenaed him last year to turn over any classified documents, he initially asked his lawyers whether he had to comply with the demand, according to a person with knowledge of the discussion. They said he was obligated to do so.

Since it became public that Mr. Trump had hundreds of classified documents at his private properties, including Mar-a-Lago, in early 2022, people close to him have said that he often referred to the boxes of material that federal officials wanted back as "mine."

This month, Mr. Trump said something similar during a televised town hall event on CNN, declaring that he knowingly took government records from the White House when he left. He added that he was allowed to do so because he considered the documents to be his personal property.

"I took the documents; I'm allowed to," Mr. Trump said during the town hall event, asserting at one point that he had "the absolute right" to take control of government records under the Presidential Records Act. That law, enacted in 1978 after the Watergate scandal, gave control of presidential records to the government itself — not to individual presidents.

Mr. Trump's comments about the records being his personal property were in line with advice he was said to have received from Tom Fitton, the head of the conservative group Judicial Watch, who has given testimony to prosecutors investigating the case, according to people familiar with their conversations.

While establishing a motive for why Mr. Trump kept hold of certain documents could be helpful to Mr. Smith, it would not necessarily be required in proving that Mr. Trump willfully maintained possession of national defense secrets or that he obstructed the government's repeated efforts to get the materials back. Those two potential crimes have long been at the heart of the government's documents investigation.

Mr. Smith is also examining Mr. Trump's efforts to cling to power after he lost the November 2020 election to President Biden, an inquiry that includes what role he may have played in unleashing the violence that erupted at the Capitol on Jan. 6, 2021.

A third track of Mr. Smith's investigation is focused on Mr. Trump's efforts to leverage claims of investigating election fraud to raise money. Mr. Trump raised tens of millions of dollars in small increments from donors as he aired allegations about election fraud that were debunked.

Mr. Smith's team is still bringing witnesses to the grand jury in connection with that matter. One witness this week is William Russell, an aide to Mr. Trump who worked for him in the White House and who was paid by Mr. Trump's political action committee, Save America, where much of the money raised went.

Justice Dept. Under Trump Extended Clinton Inquiry

By ADAM GOLDMAN

WASHINGTON — The Justice Department kept open the investigation into Hillary Clinton's family foundation for nearly all of President Donald J. Trump's administration, with prosecutors closing the case without charges just days before he left office.

Newly released documents and interviews with former department officials show that the investigation stretched long past when F.B.I. agents and prosecutors knew it was a dead end. The conclusion of the case, which centered on the Clinton Foundation's dealings with foreign donors when Mrs. Clinton served as secretary of state under President Barack Obama, has not previously been reported.

Mr. Trump, who campaigned on a promise to "lock her up," spent much of his four-year term pressuring the F.B.I. and the Justice Department to target political rivals. After being accused by the president's allies of serving as part of a deep-state cabal working against him, F.B.I. officials insisted that the department acknowledge in writing that there was no case to bring.

The closing documents, which were obtained by The New York Times as part of a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit, spelled the end to an investigation that top prosecutors had expressed doubts about from the beginning. Still, it became a rallying cry for Republicans who believed the F.B.I. would ultimately turn up evidence of corruption and damage Mrs. Clinton's political fortunes.

The foundation became attack fodder for Republicans in 2015 after the conservative author Peter Schweizer published the book "Clinton Cash: The Untold Story of How and Why Foreign Governments and Businesses Helped Make Bill and Hillary Rich," an investigation of donations that foreign entities made to the family organization. Mr. Schweizer is the president of the Government Accountability Institute, where Stephen K. Bannon, Mr. Trump's former chief strategist, was a founder and the executive chairman.

A spokesman for the Clinton Foundation, Craig Minassian, said that the organization had been "subjected to politically motivated allegations with no basis in fact."

Republicans seized on the accusations in Mr. Schweizer's book, accusing Mrs. Clinton of supporting the interests of foundation donors as part of a quid pro quo.

Specifically, critics focused on the foundation's receipt of large donations in exchange for supporting the sale of Uranium One, a Canadian company with ties to mining stakes in the United States, to a Russian nuclear agency. The deal was approved in 2010 by the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States when Mrs. Clinton, as secretary of state, had a voting seat on the panel.

Mr. Schweizer's research caught the eye of F.B.I. agents in Washington, who in 2016 opened a preliminary investigation based solely on "unvetted hearsay information" in the book, according to the final report by John H. Durham, the Trump-era special counsel who led an investigation into the bureau's inquiry into possible ties between Mr. Trump's campaign and Russia.

The F.B.I. in New York and Little Rock, Ark., also opened investigations that relied on information from confidential source reporting, according to Mr. Durham.

Mr. Durham also compared the handling of the Clinton Foundation investigation to the F.B.I.'s treatment of the Russia investigation. As part of his inquiry, Mr. Durham questioned Mrs. Clinton last spring. "Secretary Clinton was voluntarily interviewed by Special Counsel Durham on May 11, 2022," said David E. Kendall, her lawyer. "No topics were off limits. She answered every question."

The Justice Department did not think much of the foundation investigations, frustrating F.B.I. agents. Raymond N. Hulser, a prosecutor in charge of the public integrity section at the time, told Mr. Durham that the Washington case that was based on the book lacked predication.

Indeed, some prosecutors at the time believed the book had been discredited.

The investigation became a source of friction at the F.B.I. as agents believed the Justice Department had stymied their work.

That tension spilled into public view and had far-reaching consequences.

Andrew G. McCabe, then the F.B.I.'s deputy director, was accused of leaking information about the case to a Wall Street Journal reporter and later lying about it to the Justice Department's inspector general. The episode helped prompt his dis-

ANNA MONEYMAKER/GETTY IMAGES

The investigation of Hillary Clinton, the former secretary of state, yielded no charges.

F.B.I. agents and prosecutors knew it was a dead end.

missal in 2018 and a failed effort by the department to prosecute him.

In August 2016, the three foundation cases were consolidated under the supervision of agents in New York. Agents were authorized to seek subpoenas from the U.S. attorneys' offices in Manhattan and Brooklyn, but prosecutors declined to issue them. The investigation seemed to go dormant.

Ultimately, the F.B.I. moved the case to Little Rock. In 2017, after prosecutors there requested help, the deputy attorney general's office said the Justice Department would support the case.

Eventually, prosecutors secured a subpoena for the charity in early 2018 and the F.B.I. detailed personnel to examine donor records. Investigators also interviewed the former chief financial officer for the foundation.

Career prosecutors in Little Rock then closed the case, notifying the F.B.I.'s office there in two letters in January 2021. But in a toxic atmosphere in which Mr. Trump had long accused the F.B.I. of bias, the top agent in Little Rock wanted it known that career prosecutors, not F.B.I. officials, were behind the decision.

In August 2021, the F.B.I. received what is known as a declination memo from prosecutors and as a result considered the matter closed.

"All of the evidence obtained during the course of this investigation has been returned or otherwise destroyed," according to the F.B.I.

Jo Becker contributed reporting.

Carroll Seeks Damages for Ex-President's Insults on CNN

By BENJAMIN WEISER

E. Jean Carroll, who this month won $5 million in damages from former President Donald J. Trump, is now seeking a "very substantial" additional amount in response to his insults on a CNN program just a day after she won her sexual abuse and defamation case.

Ms. Carroll's filing on Monday in Manhattan federal court seeks to intensify the financial pain for Mr. Trump. The jury in her civil case found him liable on May 9 for sexual abuse and defamation. It ordered him to pay Ms. Carroll, a former advice columnist and fixture in Manhattan's news media circles, $2 million for the sexual abuse and $3 million for the defamation.

ANNA WATTS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

E. Jean Carroll, at right with her lawyer, Roberta A. Kaplan, on April 27. Ms. Carroll's filing is related to a 2019 defamation suit.

Monday's filing came in a separate defamation lawsuit that Ms. Carroll filed in 2019 against Mr. Trump, 76, which is before the judge who presided in the civil trial. That case stemmed from comments Mr. Trump made that year, shortly after Ms. Carroll said that he had raped her in a Manhattan department store dressing room in the mid-1990s. The suit has been sidetracked by appeals and is still pending.

In a separate letter to the judge, Ms. Carroll's lawyer, Roberta A. Kaplan, revealed with little elaboration that Mr. Trump has threatened to sue Ms. Carroll "in retaliation and possibly to seek sanctions."

On May 10, Mr. Trump, who is seeking to regain the presidency, went on CNN and echoed his earlier denials, calling Ms. Carroll's account "fake" and a "made-up story." Despite a photograph showing them together, he claimed again that he had never met Ms. Carroll, 79, called her a "wack job" and said the civil trial was "a rigged deal."

Monday's court filing argues Mr. Trump's statements "show the depth of his malice toward Carroll, since it is hard to imagine defamatory conduct that could possibly be more motivated by hatred, ill will or spite."

"This conduct supports a very substantial punitive damages award in Carroll's favor both to punish Trump, to deter him from engaging in further defamation, and to deter others from doing the same," the filing says.

Ms. Kaplan said in an interview on Monday that Mr. Trump's statements on CNN made pursuing the pending defamation lawsuit all the more important.

"It makes a mockery of the jury verdict and our justice system if he can just keep on repeating the same defamatory statements over and over again," Ms. Kaplan said.

Mr. Trump continues to fight the jury's decision. After the verdict, his lawyer Joseph Tacopina filed a notice of appeal.

Alina Habba, another of Mr. Trump's lawyers, said late on Monday that no damages were warranted in Ms. Carroll's 2019 defamation suit, "let alone punitive damages."

"We intend to vigorously oppose this motion, which we view as nothing more than a desperate, last-ditch effort by Ms. Carroll to upend this case," Ms. Habba said.

Asked about the reference to a threatened lawsuit by Mr. Trump against Ms. Carroll, Ms. Habba said, "We have been paying attention to the statements made by Ms. Carroll in the press and are considering all options."

Ms. Carroll, in an extensive interview with The New York Times two days after the verdict, said of Mr. Trump's CNN comments, "It's just stupid; it's just disgusting, vile, foul; it wounds people."

Her filing asks the judge, Lewis A. Kaplan, to let her revise the 2019 defamation lawsuit to include the fact of the verdict as well as Mr. Trump's postverdict statements on CNN and others he made about Ms. Carroll on his Truth Social platform.

Ms. Carroll has said that after Mr. Trump raped her in the dressing room at the Bergdorf Goodman department store, she kept the encounter a secret, other than confiding in two close friends. Ms. Carroll first disclosed the episode in a 2019 book excerpt in New York magazine.

At the time, Mr. Trump called Ms. Carroll's allegation "totally false" and said he could not have raped her because she was not his "type."

Ms. Carroll filed her 2019 defamation lawsuit based on those comments, and the case has since been tied up in appeals, with Mr. Trump arguing he cannot be sued because he made his statements in his official capacity as president.

Last November, after Mr. Trump — no longer president — posted a statement calling Ms. Carroll's case "a complete con job" and "a Hoax and a lie," she sued him again for defamation, and also for battery under a New York law that allows adults a one-year window to sue people they say sexually abused them, even if the statute of limitations has long expired.

Because the two suits can be hard to distinguish, they are sometimes referred to in court papers as Carroll I (the 2019 lawsuit) and Carroll II (the 2022 suit).

It was the trial of Carroll II that ended this month when the jury of six men and three women found Mr. Trump liable for sexually abusing and defaming Ms. Carroll. The jury did not find Mr. Trump liable for raping Ms. Carroll, as she had long claimed.

Corrections

INTERNATIONAL

An article on Thursday about the nomination of Hou Yu-ih as the presidential candidate for Taiwan's Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, misstated Mr. Hou's age. He is 65, not 66.

NATIONAL

An article on Friday about the married couple behind the Los Angeles restaurant Horses, and the accusations of violence they have made against each other, misstated the number of employees who were sexually harassed by Ken Friedman at his New York restaurant the Spotted Pig, according to the New York State attorney general. Not all 11 employees whom the attorney general cited in her investigation accused Mr. Friedman of sexual harassment; some accused him of retaliation or discrimination.

METROPOLITAN

An article on Sunday about pedestrian safety hazards in the suburbs misstated the number of speed cameras in use in New York City. There are 750 zones that incorporate speed cameras, not 750 cameras. In addition, the revenue from speed camera fines misstated the time frame in which it was collected; $100 million was collected in the months after the cameras were turned on 24 hours a day, not after they were initially installed.

BUSINESS

An article on Monday about the effect that negotiations over the debt limit are having on the U.S. economy referred incorrectly to borrowing costs in the United States. The United States typically has low borrowing costs, not the lowest in the world.

SPORTS

An article on Saturday about the baseball player Mookie Betts misstated Tigers center fielder Mickey Stanley's history at the shortstop position. He played shortstop for the first time in his career in August 1968, in the regular season, not in the 1968 World Series.

OBITUARIES

An article on Saturday about Jim Brown's N.F.L. career misstated the day Mr. Brown died. It was Thursday, not Friday.

An obituary on Saturday about the Rev. Timothy Keller of Redeemer Presbyterian Church in Manhattan misspelled the given name of a philosopher. He was Michel Foucault, not Michael.

An obituary on May 8 about Newton N. Minow, a former commissioner of the Federal Communications Commission, referred incorrectly to a satellite that went into orbit in 1962. It was America's first active communications satellite, not America's first communications satellite. (Echo 1, a passive communications satellite, had been sent into orbit in 1960.) The obituary also misstated how many television channels most Americans could receive by the end of the 1960s. While the number differed from market to market, it was less than "scores" everywhere.

An obituary on May 10 about the former Minnesota Vikings quarterback Joe Kapp included outdated and incomplete information about his survivors. They do not include his brother, Larry, or his sister Joanie Ebberson, both of whom died before him. And in addition to those named, he is survived by six grandchildren. In addition, a picture caption with the obituary, using information from Getty Images, misstated when the photograph of Kapp in action against the Los Angeles Rams was taken. It was in a regular-season game on Dec. 7, 1969 — not the playoff game the same teams played a few weeks later.

Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

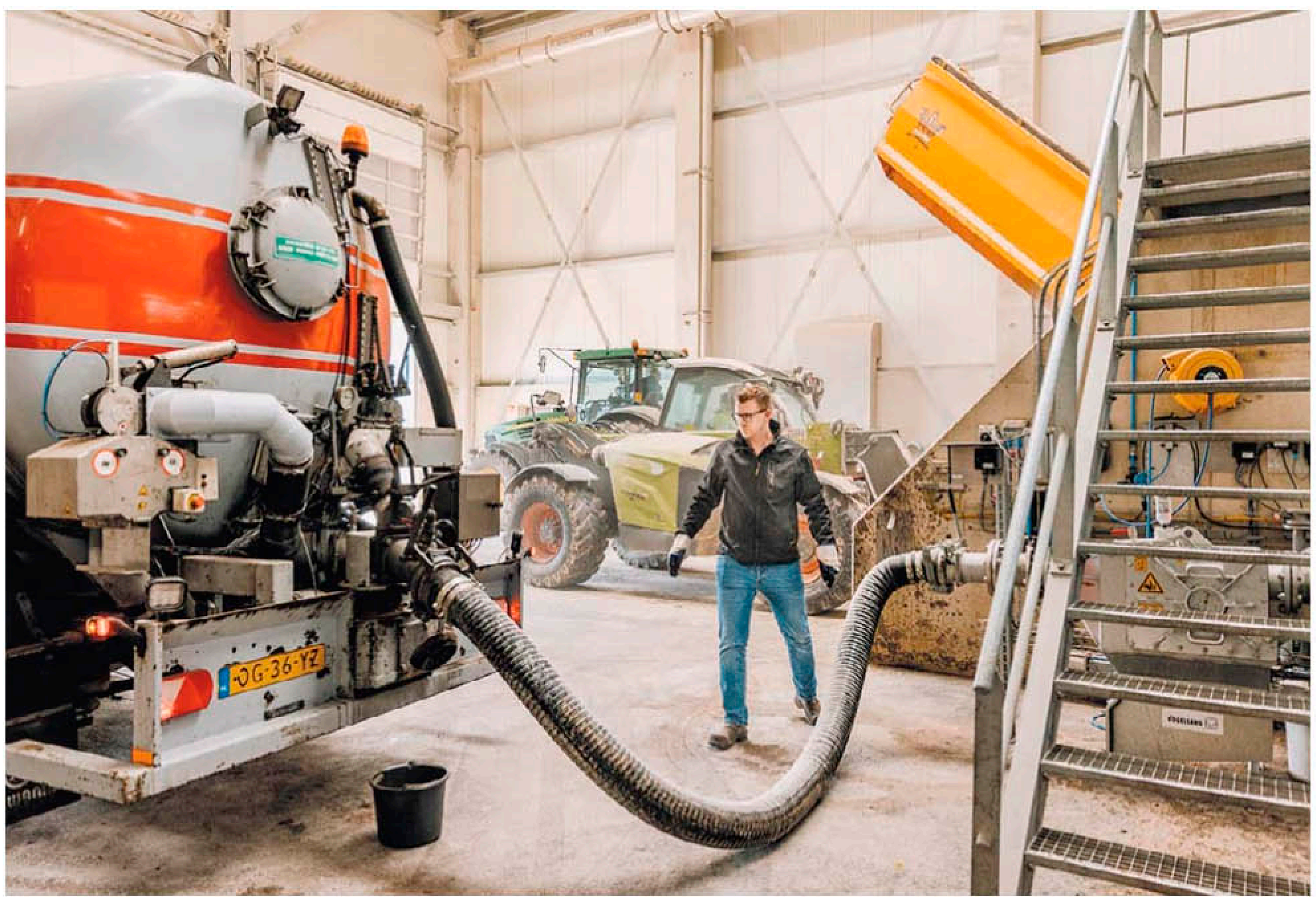
Contact the Newsroom
To contact the newsroom regarding correction requests, please email corrections@nytimes.com.

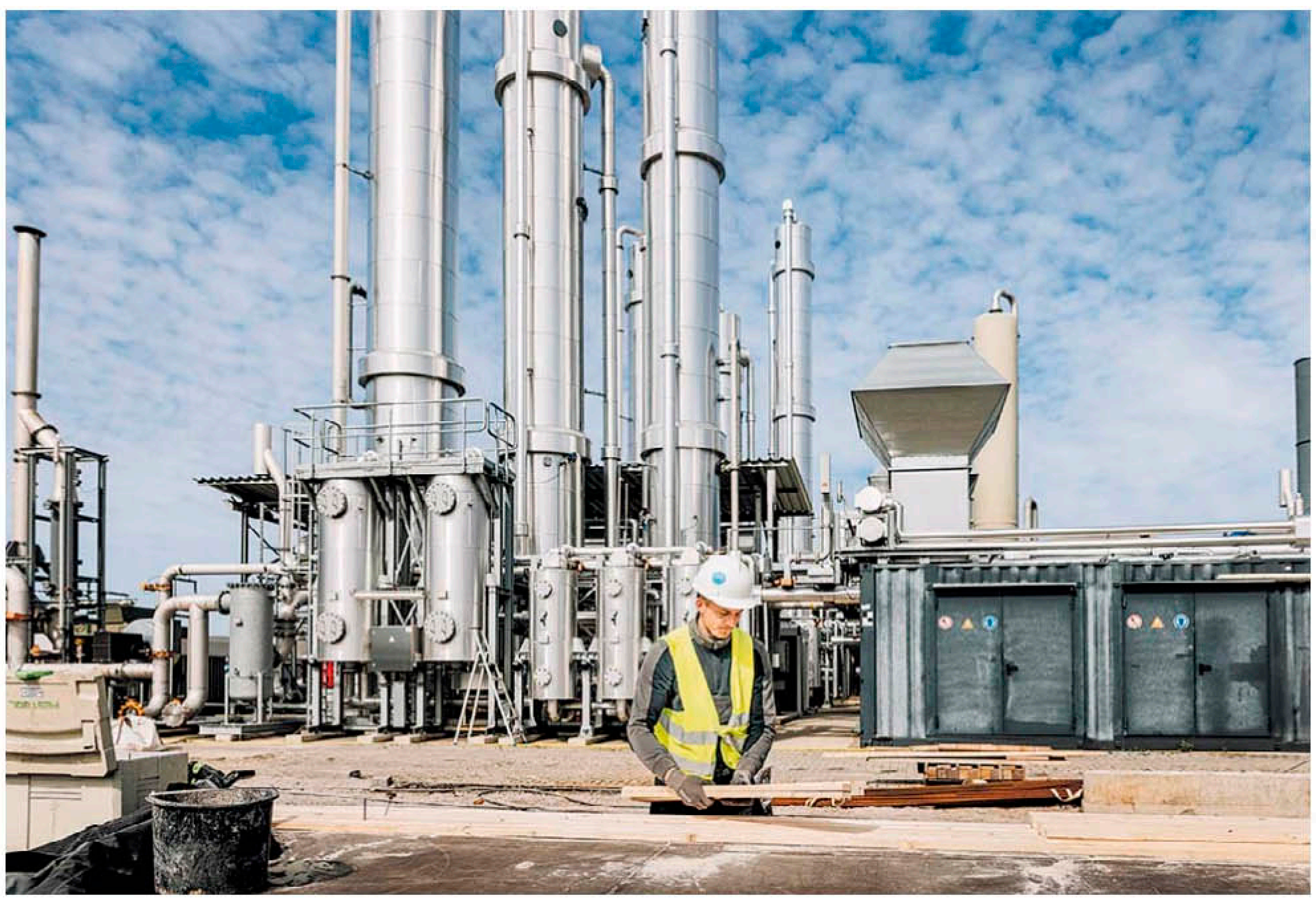
4 TECHNOLOGY
A top semiconductor firm says that it plans to build a $4 billion chip research facility in Silicon Valley.

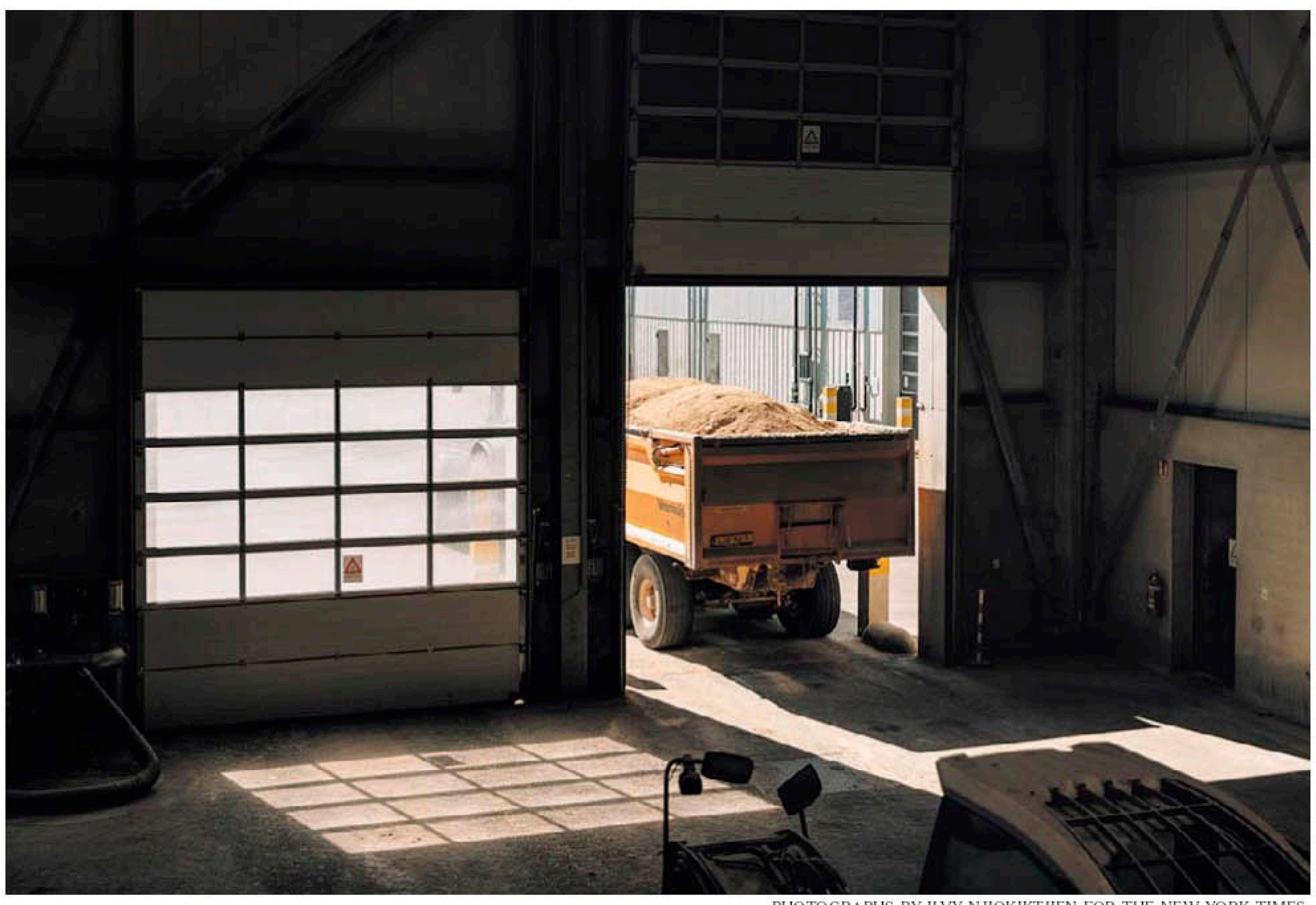
4 TRAVEL
With more passengers willing to pay for premium seats, airlines are reshaping cabins and flying larger planes.

9 SPORTS
Carmelo Anthony, the former Knick, retired after 19 N.B.A. seasons and 28,289 points, plus four Olympic medals.

An Oil Refiner in Europe Looks To Manure for a Greener Future







PHOTOGRAPHS BY ILVY NJIOKIKTJIEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top left: Storage silos for substances like animal fat at the Bio Energy Coevorden facility; pig manure being pumped from a tanker truck; delivering grain rejected for animal feed; a factory worker.

Farm waste and used cooking oil produce a biofuel that is like natural gas but is considered carbon neutral.

By STANLEY REED

COEVORDEN, THE NETHERLANDS — Every day dozens of tanker trucks, many laden with pig manure and other kinds of agricultural waste, rumble through the gateway of an imposing steel-and-concrete plant in northeast Netherlands.

This pungent cargo will be mixed together into a slurry and pumped into massive tanks, where hungry bacteria will within weeks turn it into methane gas that will ultimately be sold to the energy grid to heat homes and generate electricity.

The gas is a biofuel — similar to the natural gas pumped out of offshore wells in the North Sea but, because of its biological origins, considered carbon neutral.

The recipe for success, said Fritz Ullrich, the plant manager, is keeping the microbes nourished with a steady stream of waste. "We have to coddle them," he said on a recent morning. "They are our factory."

Mr. Ullrich, who came to this job after running oil depots, seems bemused at finding himself tending bacteria. But the energy industry is going through wrenching changes, especially in Europe.

For the plant's main owner, Varo Energy, a privately held oil refiner in Switzerland that sells diesel and gasoline at service stations across northwest Europe, biogas facilities like this one represent the future — or at least a slice of it.

CONTINUED ON PAGE B6

China's Ban on Micron Escalates Microchip War

By PAUL MOZUR and JOHN LIU

When cutting foreign technology companies from Chinese supply chains, Beijing has long chosen to work obliquely or even secretly. Regulators would give executives back-room lectures, weigh them down with excessive red tape or hit them with occasional office raids. Rarely did the government tell a firm outright it was no longer welcome.

But that is what it signaled to Micron Technology in a late-night announcement on Sunday.

The Chinese government barred companies that handle critical information from buying microchips made by the Boise, Idaho-based Micron. The company's chips, which are used for memory storage in all kinds of electronics, like phones and computers, were deemed to pose "relatively serious cybersecurity problems" by China's internet watchdog after a review.

Micron said it was "evaluating" the government's finding and "assessing" what it would do next. Analysts said the company, which has been selling chips in China for years, could find itself cut out of future business from Chinese companies.

The openness and speed with which the Chinese authorities took action against Micron — they spent less than two months on the investigation — underscore how far apart the two sides are drifting on tech policy. Last year, the Biden administration took harsh steps to block Chinese chip makers' access

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

Meta Is Fined $1.3 Billion Over E.U. Privacy Rules

By ADAM SATARIANO

LONDON — Meta on Monday was fined a record 1.2 billion euros ($1.3 billion) and ordered to stop transferring data collected from Facebook users in Europe to the United States, in a major ruling against the social media company for violating European Union data protection rules.

The penalty, announced by Ireland's Data Protection Commission, is potentially one of the most consequential in the five years since the European Union enacted the landmark data privacy law known as the General Data Protection Regulation. Regulators said the company failed to comply with a 2020 decision by the European Union's highest court that Facebook data shipped across the Atlantic was not sufficiently protected from American spy agencies.

But it remains unclear if or when Meta will ever need to cordon off the data of Facebook users in Europe. Meta said it would appeal the decision, setting up a potentially lengthy legal process.

Facebook's parent company says it will appeal a decision.

At the same time, European Union and American officials are negotiating a new data-sharing pact that would provide legal protections for Meta and scores of other companies to continue moving in-

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

TikTok Fights Prohibition In Montana With Lawsuit

By DAVID McCABE and SAPNA MAHESHWARI

TikTok on Monday sued to block Montana from banning the popular video app, escalating its efforts to stop a prohibition that would be the first of its kind in the nation.

In a lawsuit filed in U.S. District Court for the District of Montana, the company said Montana's legislation violated the First Amendment and parts of the U.S. Constitution that limit state powers. The ban was "unconstitutionally shutting down the forum for speech for all speakers on the app," the company said in the lawsuit.

TikTok sued days after Montana's governor, Greg Gianforte, signed the ban — which would fine the app if it operated in the state or app stores if they allowed it to be downloaded — into law.

The state law has become a test case for whether it is possible to prohibit the use of TikTok, which is owned by the Chinese internet company ByteDance, over national security concerns. The ban, which is set to go into effect on Jan. 1, has already raised questions about how it would be enforced within Montana's borders.

"We are challenging Montana's unconstitutional TikTok ban to protect our business and the hundreds of thousands of TikTok users in Montana," Brooke Oberwetter, a TikTok spokeswoman, said in a statement. "We believe our legal challenge will prevail based on an exceedingly strong set of precedents and facts."

Emily Flower, a spokeswoman for Montana's attorney general,

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

The Digest

ENERGY

Chevron to Grow in U.S. By Buying PDC Energy

Chevron is increasing its U.S. oil and gas footprint by acquiring the shale producer PDC Energy in a stock-and-debt transaction worth $7.6 billion, Chevron said Monday.

For Chevron, the second-largest U.S. oil firm, the deal will increase its production, capital expenditures and cash flow in the U.S. amid global geopolitical tensions over energy supply following Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

Analysts have been questioning Chevron's ability to counter worries that the company's core U.S. shale properties are in decline after poor performance in the Permian basin of West Texas and New Mexico last year.

The deal values Denver-based PDC at $72 per share, about a 14 percent premium to its 10-day average ending Friday. It is expected to close by the end of the year, the companies said.

The purchase will add 10 percent to Chevron's reserves and lift its capital expenditures and free cash flow by $1 billion within a year of closing. *REUTERS*

LITIGATION

Student Aid Firm Founder Pleads Not Guilty to Fraud

LAWRENCE NEUMEISTER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

With an indictment and a not-guilty plea, the fraud case against the founder of a student loan assistance startup company that J.P. Morgan Chase acquired for $175 million two years ago took a step toward trial on Monday in a New York court.

Charlie Javice, 31, right, entered the plea through her lawyer to an indictment returned late last week in Manhattan federal court charging her with conspiracy, wire fraud and bank fraud.

The Miami Beach, Fla., resident who founded Frank appeared at a remote proceeding in which her face and the faces of defense lawyers and prosecutors were projected onto a video screen before U.S. Magistrate Judge Gabriel Gorenstein. He said her next appearance was scheduled for June 6 before a judge who would preside over a trial.

Ms. Javice, who is free on $2 million bail, is charged with tricking J.P. Morgan into buying her company by producing data showing Frank had over 4.25 million customers when it had fewer than 300,000. *ASSOCIATED PRESS*

SOCIAL PAYMENTS

Venmo to Officially Open To Teenage Customers

Teenagers will officially be allowed to open a Venmo account with their parent's permission, the company said Monday, expanding the popular social payments app to an age demographic that is likely to embrace it almost immediately.

Using Venmo won't necessarily be new to a good number of teens — parents often set up accounts for their children through their own accounts, which is a violation of Venmo's terms of service. There have been guides on the Internet for some time showing parents how to create a child's account without Venmo penalizing them.

Venmo has been a popular way to send money to individuals for years, and now has more than 90 million users. The product for teens comes at a time when other social apps are being watched closely by politicians and regulators. The state of Montana banned TikTok last week and other states are considering a ban as well. *ASSOCIATED PRESS*

S&P 500 INDEX
0.0%
4,192.63

DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS
–0.4%
33,286.58

NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX
+0.5%
12,720.78

10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD
3.72%
+0.028 points

CRUDE OIL (U.S.)
$72.05
+$0.36

GOLD (N.Y.)
$1,977.20
–$4.40

Debt-Ceiling Talks Leave Wall St. on Edge

By The Associated Press

Stocks drifted to a mixed finish on Monday as Wall Street waited for the results of a pivotal meeting meant to avoid a potentially disastrous default on the U.S. government's debt.

The S&P 500 was at a virtual

STOCKS & BONDS

standstill after flipping between small gains and losses through the day. It edged up 0.65, or less than 0.1 percent, to 4,192.63. The Dow Jones industrial average fell 140.05 points, or 0.4 percent, to 33,286.58, and the Nasdaq composite rose 62.88, or 0.5 percent, to 12,720.78.

The stock market is near its highest level since August, but it has mostly remained within a tight range for weeks as several big worries have weighed on traders. The biggest near-term risk is the possibility of a U.S. default, which could occur as soon as June 1.

That is when Washington could run out of cash to pay its bills, unless Congress allows it to borrow more. Because Treasurys are seen as the safest investment on Earth, economists and investors say a default would most likely trigger a recession and produce deep pain for financial markets.

President Biden and House Speaker Kevin McCarthy were scheduled to meet after U.S. stock markets closed to discuss the debt limit. Talks so far have been start-and-stop, with stocks rallying in the middle of last week on hopes that a deal might have been progressing, only to falter Friday when negotiations hit a roadblock.

Another worry that has hung over the market is the struggle of the U.S. banking system, which has been weighed down by much higher interest rates. Three high-profile failures since March have shaken confidence in the system, and investors have been looking out for another weak link.

One of the smaller and midsize regional banks that Wall Street has been scrutinizing is PacWest Bancorp. Its stock jumped 19.5 percent after it agreed to sell a portfolio of real-estate construction loans with about $2.6 billion in principal still outstanding to Kennedy Wilson. PacWest's stock is still down 70.2 percent for the year so far.

Elsewhere on Wall Street, Micron Technology dropped 2.8 percent as tensions heightened between China and the United States. China's government said on Sunday that Micron's products had unspecified "serious network security risks" that could affect national security. It told users of sensitive computer equipment to stop buying Micron products.

Meta Platforms rose 1.1 percent after shaking off news that European regulators had given the company a privacy fine of $1.3 billion, a record. Meta called the decision flawed and unjustified. It said it would appeal.

Meta has been on a tear this year, more than doubling in 2023 already. Other Big Tech companies have also had powerful leaps, much stronger than the rest of the market.

But that split in performance is worrying some market watchers. It has left the index extremely top-heavy, meaning its performance is more dependent on a small group of stocks than it has been in decades.

Much of the excitement has been around artificial intelligence, but that has not been enough to turn around some of Wall Street's more pessimistic voices.

"While we believe A.I. is for real and will likely lead to some great efficiencies that help to fight inflation, it's unlikely to prevent the deep earnings recession we forecast for this year," Michael Wilson and other strategists at Morgan Stanley wrote in a report.

S&P 500 companies are in the midst of reporting a second straight quarter of decreases in profit from a year ago. The question is how much worse they will get because the economy is slowing under the weight of much higher interest rates meant to get inflation under control.

Hopes are high that the Fed will start taking it easier on interest rates by leaving them steady at its next meeting in June.

The S&P 500 Index

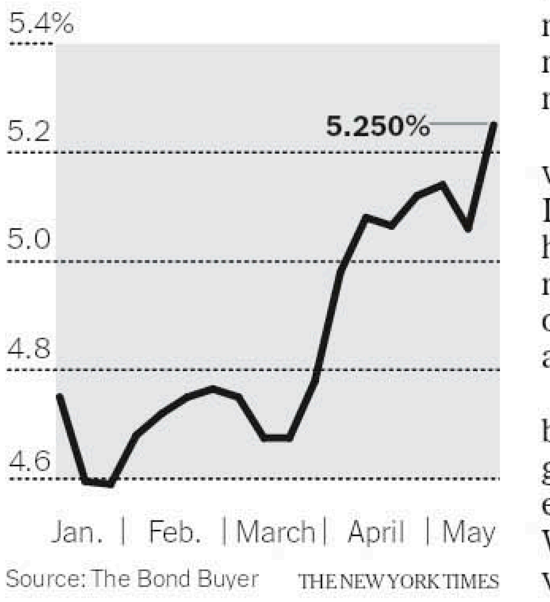
Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Monday

-- Previous Close: 4,191.98

Source: FactSet THE NEW YORK TIMES

3-Month Treasury Bills

High rate at weekly auction.

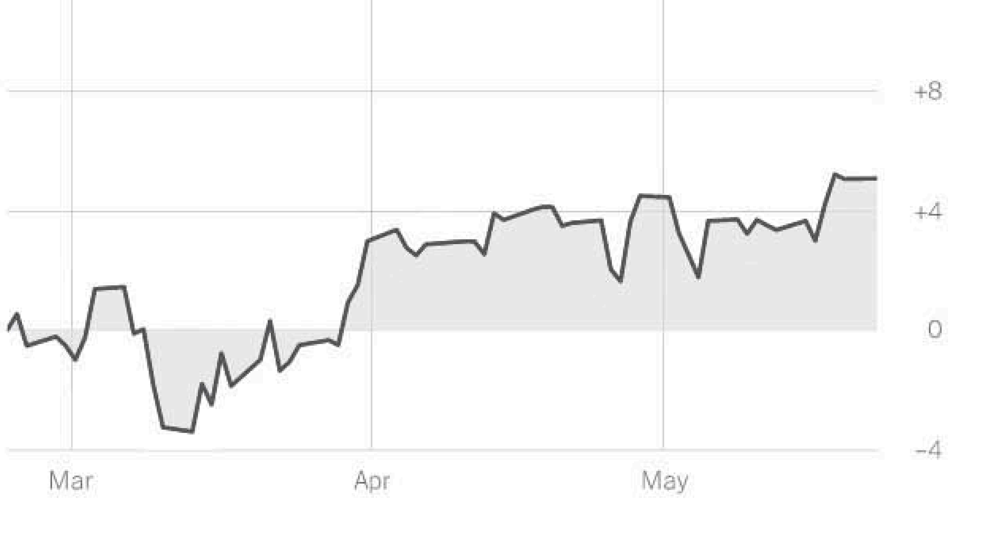


Source: The Bond Buyer THE NEW YORK TIMES

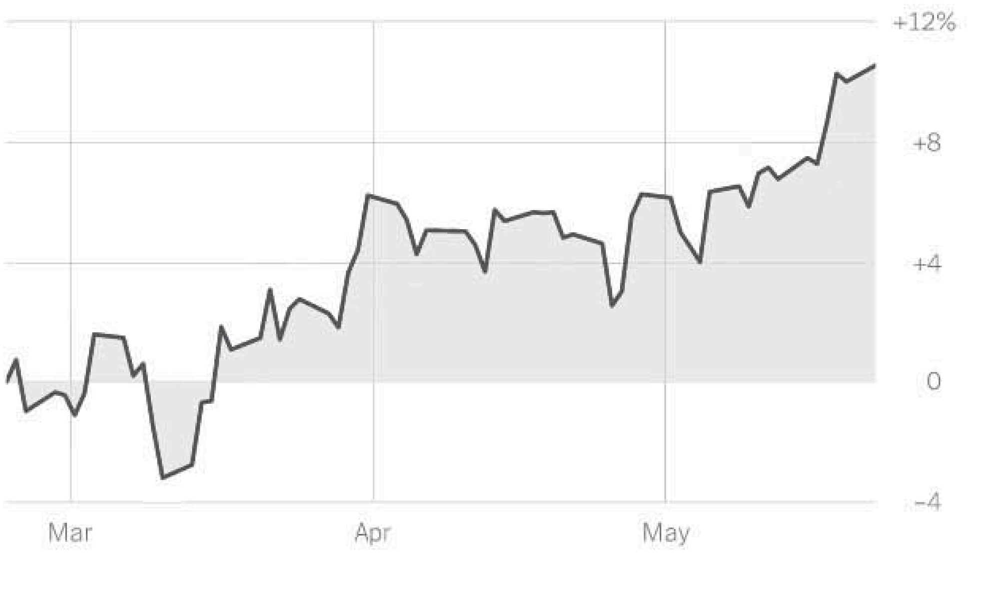
What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

POWERED BY FACTSET

S&P 500 4,192.63 0.0%
3 month performance: **+5.1%**



Nasdaq Composite Index 12,720.78 ↑+0.5%
3 month performance: **+10.5%**



Dow Jones Industrials 33,286.58 ↓–0.4%
3 month performance: **+0.7%**

Best performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Match Group (MTCH)	$33.98	+6.7%
2. EPAM Systems (EPAM)	$263.67	+6.5
3. Pfizer Inc (PFE)	$38.75	+5.4
4. Gen Digital (GEN)	$17.06	+5.3
5. Zions Bancorp. (ZION)	$28.09	+4.9
6. Tesla (TSLA)	$188.87	+4.8
7. Keycorp (KEY)	$10.28	+4.7
8. Lincoln National (LNC)	$21.86	+4.3
9. Generac Holdings (GNRC)	$118.28	+3.9
10. Citizens Financial (CFG)	$27.19	+3.9

Worst performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. NIKE 'B' (NKE)	$110.18	–4.0%
2. Everest Re Group (RE)	$361.49	–4.0
3. Arch Capital Group (ACGL)	$73.50	–3.3
4. Kimberly-Clark (KMB)	$140.70	–3.0
5. American Airlines Group (AAL)	$14.38	–3.0
6. Micron Technology (MU)	$66.23	–2.8
7. O'Reilly Auto (ORLY)	$928.14	–2.7
8. Lennar (LEN)	$110.50	–2.7
9. PepsiCo (PEP)	$186.64	–2.7
10. Procter & Gamble (PG)	$149.16	–2.6

Most active

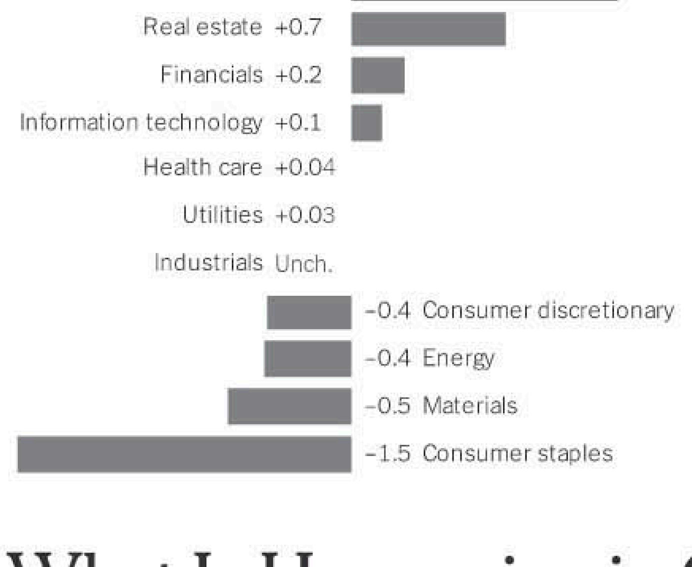
S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE	VOLUME IN MIL.
1. Tesla (TSLA)	$188.87	+4.8%	131
2. Pfizer Inc (PFE)	$38.75	+5.4	85
3. Amazon.com (AMZN)	$115.01	–1.1	70
4. Advanced Micro Devices (AMD)	$108.00	+2.1	65
5. Ford Motor (F)	$11.63	–0.2	57
6. Apple (AAPL)	$174.20	–0.5	43
7. AT&T Inc. (T)	$16.38	+0.4	40
8. Micron Technology (MU)	$66.23	–2.8	37
9. NVIDIA (NVDA)	$311.76	–0.3	37
10. Bank of America (BAC)	$28.34	+0.8	36

Long- and intermediate-term gov't bonds

	TOTAL RETURN 1 YR	5 YRS	TOTAL ASSETS IN BIL.
1. Vanguard Instl Total Bond Market Index Trust (VTBSX)	–0.3%	+1.2%	297.9
2. Vanguard Total Bond Market II Index Fund Institutional Shares (VTBNX)	–0.3	+1.2	247.4
3. American Funds The Bond Fund of America Class R-6 (RBFGX)	–0.7	+2.1	76.8
4. Metropolitan West Total Return Bond Fund Plan Class (MWTSX)	–1.3	+1.4	64.3
5. Dodge & Cox Income Fund Class I (DODIX)	+0.8	+2.1	63.2
6. Strategic Advisers Fidelity Core Income Fund (FIWGX)	–0.8	0.0	62.6
7. Fidelity U.S. Bond Index Fund (FXNAX)	–0.4	+1.2	59.8
8. PIMCO Total Return Fund Administrative Class (PTRAX)	–1.4	+0.9	55.7
9. Strategic Advisers Core Income Fund (FPCIX)	–1.0	+1.5	49.4
10. PGIM Total Return Bond Fund -Class R4 (PDBSX)	–1.4	+1.1	40.7

Source: Morningstar

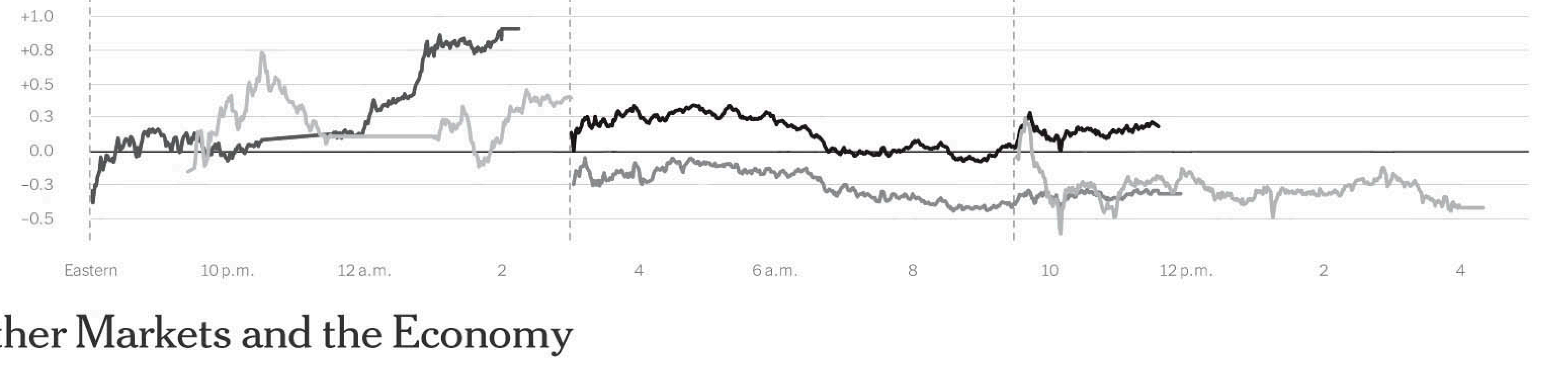
Sector performance
S&P 500 SECTORS



How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia ...
— Nikkei 225 (Japan): +0.9%
— Shanghai Composite (Shanghai): +0.4%

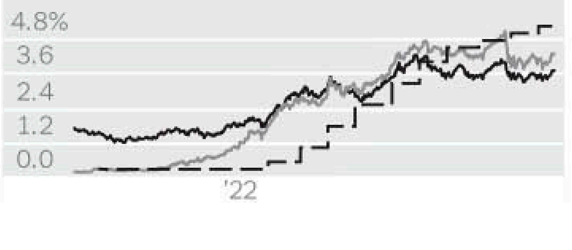
... in Europe
— FTSE 100 (London): +0.2%
— DAX (Frankfurt): –0.3%

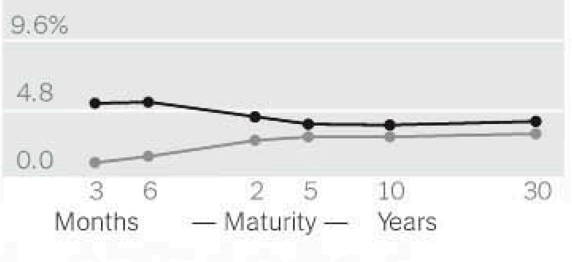
... and North America
— Dow Jones Industrials (New York): –0.4%
— S&P/TSX (Toronto): --%



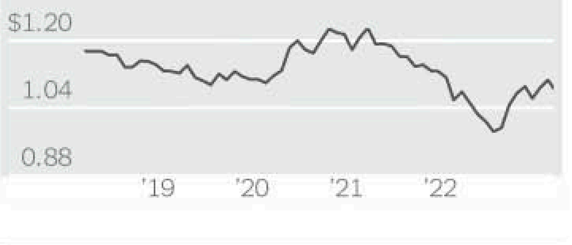
What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy

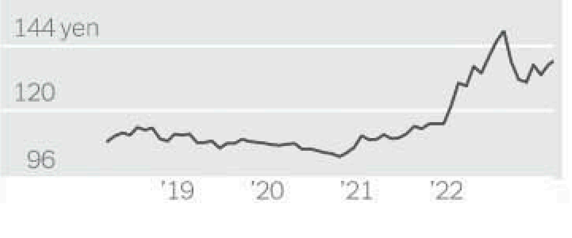
Bonds



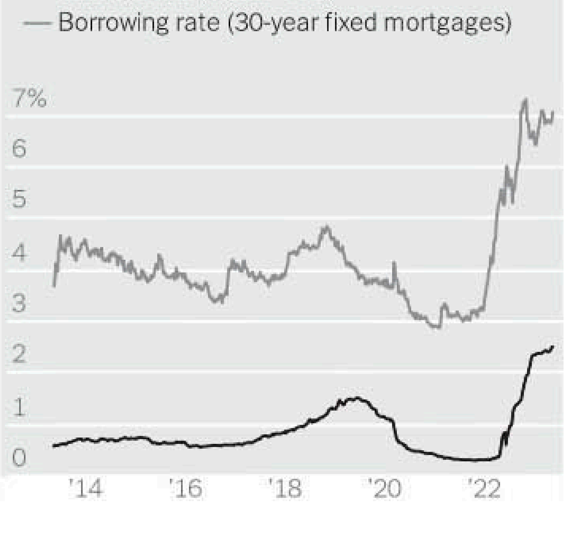


Currencies

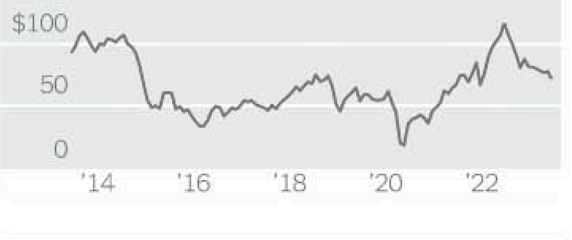


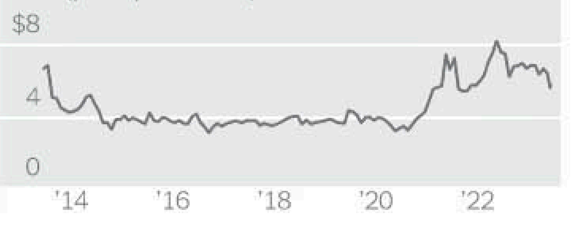


Consumer rates

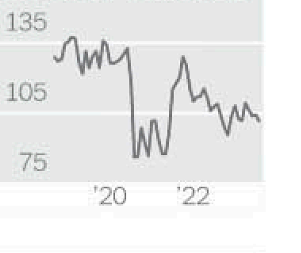


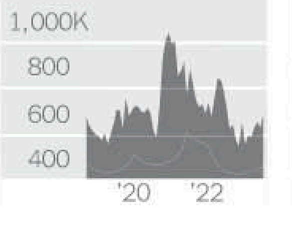
Commodities

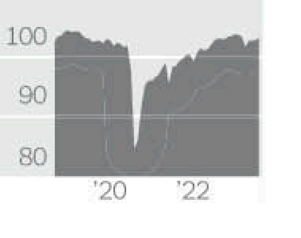




Economy







ECONOMY | SOCIAL MEDIA

Fed Survey Indicates Inflation Is Taking A Toll on Americans

By BEN CASSELMAN

Americans have jobs. They're getting raises. And none of it is enough to keep up with the rising cost of living.

The share of U.S. adults who said they were doing "at least OK financially" fell sharply last year, to 73 percent from 78 percent in 2021, according to the latest Federal Reserve survey of Americans' financial well-being, released on Monday. Some 35 percent of Americans said they were worse off than a year earlier, up from 20 percent in 2021 and the highest share in the nine years the question has been asked. Just 19 percent of respondents said they were better off than a year earlier.

The erosion in financial health was broad-based, cutting across racial and ethnic lines, educational categories and income groups.

The data, from the Fed's Survey of Household Economics and Decisionmaking, echoes other surveys showing that Americans feel glum about the economy and their own finances. But it provides new details on how the economic crosscurrents of a strong job market and rising prices are affecting families.

The job market is by many measures the strongest in decades, with the unemployment rate hovering near a half-century low, job openings near record highs and workers feeling empowered to demand higher pay. The benefits of that environment are clear in the Fed survey: Respondents said they were more likely to have demanded and received raises and promotions than in previous years, and less likely to have lost a job. About 33 percent of respondents said their incomes had risen in the past year, up from 30 percent in 2021.

But those gains were overwhelmed by rising prices. Only 49 percent of Americans said they spent less than they made each month, down from 55 percent in 2021. Nearly two-thirds said they used less of a product or stopped using it entirely because of inflation. More than half said they saved less.

The drop in overall well-being in 2022 was the largest in the survey's 10-year history, but that partly reflected the gains made in 2021, when the federal government was still providing high levels of assistance to many households through the expanded Child Tax Credit and other programs. In 2019, before the pandemic, 75 percent of adults said they were doing at least OK financially, only modestly above the 2022 figure.

Democratic leaders, including some White House officials, have at times dismissed surveys of economic sentiment, arguing that more concrete measures of income and employment tell a rosier story. Overall personal income has generally been rising even after being adjusted for inflation, although gains have slowed in recent months, and wages have risen fastest for the lowest-earning workers.

But in a call with reporters, Fed officials noted that the survey showed declines not just in subjective measures of economic sentiment but also in more objective measures. Only 63 percent of respondents said they had cash available to cover a $400 emergency expense, for example, down from 68 percent in 2021.

The survey was based on detailed interviews with more than 11,000 U.S. households and was conducted in October.

HIROKO MASUIKE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Grocery shopping in New York. A recent survey showed that gains in salary and the job market have been overwhelmed by rising prices.

TikTok Sues Montana Over Statewide Prohibition

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

Austin Knudsen, said, "We expected legal challenges and are fully prepared to defend the law that helps protect Montanans' privacy and security."

The lawsuit adds to those legal challenges. A group of TikTok users filed a separate suit challenging Montana's bill on Wednesday, the day Mr. Gianforte signed it, saying it violated their First Amendment rights and outstripped the state's legal authority. The law has also sparked an outcry from civil liberty and digital rights groups, including the American Civil Liberties Union and the Knight First Amendment Institute at Columbia University.

TikTok, which has more than 150 million U.S. users, has been in limbo under two presidential administrations while working to quell concerns about its Chinese ownership. The company, which has been waiting for the Biden administration to approve its plan for operating in the United States, has already faced bans on government devices in more than two dozen states, as well as by universities and the military.

The Montana ban was drafted by Mr. Knudsen, a Republican, and introduced by a Republican state senator this year. Lawmakers in the state said the ban would prevent the Chinese government from gaining access to the personal information of Montanans.

The new law will bar TikTok from operating the app in the state. App store operators, like Apple and Google, will also be forbidden to make it available for download in the state. TikTok, Apple and Google could face daily fines of $10,000 if they fail to comply.

JANIE OSBORNE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Montana law has become a test case for whether TikTok can be restricted over national security concerns.

In its lawsuit, TikTok said Montana lacked the legal authority to impose a ban because it would regulate commerce between states, which is the purview of the federal government. The ban also violates a constitutional prohibition on legislation that targets an individual or specific groups for punishment, the lawsuit contended.

"The TikTok ban singles out the TikTok application for this punishment, notwithstanding that the data allegedly collected by the app is no different in kind than data collected from any number of other sources and that is widely available in the data broker market," the company said in its complaint.

Critics of the ban believe it will be difficult to enforce even if the courts don't block it. TikTok users in Montana could still use the app if they disguised their location using virtual private network software, while Montanans living in border towns may get internet access through cell towers in other states. TechNet, a lobbying group representing Apple and Google, has said it is impossible for the app stores to restrict downloads in a single state.

Mr. Knudsen's office said last week that TikTok could enforce the ban with technology that the online gambling industry already uses to block access to an app from a state where it is illegal.

The litigation over the ban could take months to resolve. Because the ban wouldn't take effect until next year, there is not an immediate need for the courts to stop it from taking effect.

TikTok and its supporters have been successful in using the courts to stop a previous ban in the United States. In 2020, TikTok sued the federal government when President Donald J. Trump used his emergency economic powers to issue an executive order to block the app from operating in the U.S.. A judge sided with the company, and another judge blocked the ban after a challenge from a group of creators.

Meta Is Fined $1.3 Billion Over E.U. Data Privacy Rules

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

formation between the United States and Europe — a pact that could nullify much of the European Union's ruling on Monday. A preliminary deal was announced last year.

The ruling, which comes with a grace period of at least five months before Meta needs to comply, applies only to Facebook and not to Instagram and WhatsApp, which Meta also owns. The company said there would be no immediate disruption to Facebook's service in the Europe Union.

Still, the E.U. decision shows how government policies are upending the borderless way that data has traditionally moved. As a result of data-protection rules, national security laws and other regulations, companies are increasingly being pushed to store data within the country where it is collected, rather than allowing it to move freely to data centers around the world.

The case against Meta stems from U.S. policies that give intelligence agencies the ability to intercept communications from abroad, including digital correspondence. In 2020, an Austrian privacy activist, Max Schrems, won a lawsuit to invalidate a U.S.-E.U. pact, known as Privacy Shield, that had allowed Facebook and other companies to move data between the two regions. The European Court of Justice said the risk of U.S. snooping violated European users' fundamental rights.

"Unless U.S. surveillance laws get fixed, Meta will have to fundamentally restructure its systems," Mr. Schrems said in a statement on Monday. The solution, he said, is most likely a "federated social network" in which most personal data would stay in the European Union except for "necessary" transfers like when a European sends a direct message to somebody in the United States.

On Monday, Meta said it was being unfairly singled out for data-sharing practices used by thousands of companies.

"Without the ability to transfer data across borders, the internet risks being carved up into national and regional silos, restricting the global economy and leaving citizens in different countries unable to access many of the shared services we have come to rely on," Nick Clegg, Meta's president of global affairs, and Jennifer G. Newstead, the company's chief legal officer, said in a statement.

The ruling, which is a record fine under the General Data Protection Regulation, or G.D.P.R., could affect data related to photos, friend connections and direct messages stored by Meta. It has the potential to bruise Facebook's business in Europe, particularly if it hurts the company's ability to target ads. Last month, Susan Li, Meta's chief financial officer, told investors that about 10 percent of its global ad revenue came from ads delivered to Facebook users in E.U. countries. In 2022, Meta had revenue of nearly $117 billion.

Meta and other companies are counting on the new data agreement between the United States and the European Union to replace the one invalidated by European courts in 2020. Last year, President Biden and Ursula von der Leyen, the president of the European Commission, announced the outlines of a deal in Brussels, but the details are still being negotiated.

Without a deal, the ruling against Meta shows the legal risks that companies face in continuing to move data between the European Union and United States.

Meta faces the prospect of having to delete vast amounts of data about Facebook users in the European Union, said Johnny Ryan, senior fellow at the Irish Council for Civil Liberties. That would present technical difficulties given the interconnected nature of internet companies.

"It is hard to imagine how it can comply with this order," said Mr. Ryan, who has pushed for stronger data-protection policies.

The decision against Meta was announced almost exactly on the five-year anniversary of G.D.P.R. Many civil society groups and privacy activists have said the data privacy law, initially held up as a model, has not fulfilled its promise because of a lack of enforcement.

Much of the criticism has focused on a provision that requires regulators in the country where a company has its European Union headquarters to enforce the far-reaching privacy law. Ireland, home to the regional headquarters of Meta, TikTok, Twitter, Apple and Microsoft, has faced the most scrutiny.

On Monday, the Irish authorities said they had been overruled by a board made up of representatives from E.U. countries. The board insisted on imposing the €1.2 billion fine and forcing Meta to address past data collected about users, which could include deletion.

"The unprecedented fine is a strong signal to organizations that serious infringements have far-reaching consequences," said Andrea Jelinek, the chairwoman of the European Data Protection Board, the E.U. body that set the fine.

PAUL FAITH/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Meta's European headquarters in the financial sector of Dublin's city center.

Bioré and Influencer Apologize for Invoking School Shooting

By AMANDA HOLPUCH

The skin care brand Bioré apologized this week after facing criticisms that a paid social media post advertising its products at once trivialized and exploited the issue of gun violence in America.

An influencer and graduate of Michigan State University, Cecilee Max-Brown, had posted a TikTok sponsored by Bioré in which she talked about how a shooting on campus in February affected her mental health along with stressors like her post-college career, narrating over videos that show her alternating between exercising, resting and using skin care products.

The video was quickly taken down on Friday, less than 24 hours after it was posted, after social media users said it was insensitive and remarked on the startling contrast between the video's upbeat nature and focus on skin care, and the tragedy it touched on.

Ms. Max-Brown said the Michigan State shooting in February had caused her to have anxiety attacks and filled her with "terror" on campus. Three students were killed in the shooting and five others were wounded.

The company apologized on Sunday for the video, saying it had "lacked sensitivity around an incredibly serious tragedy" and that its "tonality was completely inappropriate."

The company said it "let our community down and we let our creators down by not providing better guidance."

A spokesperson said Ms. Max-Brown's video had been part of a larger campaign for mental health awareness and that it had not instructed her to speak about a specific experience but encouraged Ms. Max-Brown "to give her personal, authentic and unfiltered story."

Bioré said it reviews all creator content, but as a general rule does "not edit or censor content," especially relating to mental health.

Ms. Max-Brown posted a written apology on TikTok on Sunday and said she would "be smarter in the future." She did not respond to a request for comment.

"Life has thrown countless obstacles at me this year — from a school shooting to having no idea what life is going to look like after college," Ms. Max-Brown, who graduated this month, says in the video. "In support of mental health awareness month, I'm partnering with Bioré Skincare to strip away the stigma of anxiety."

"We want you to get it all out," she continues. "Not only what's in your pores but most importantly what's on your mind too."

As the video continues, Ms. Max-Brown discusses the distressing reality of school shootings in the United States before the tone shifts abruptly back to the paid promotion and she says: "Join me and Bioré Skincare in speaking up about mental health."

In her apology on Sunday, Ms. Max-Brown said "this partnership was not intending to come off as the product fixing the struggles I've have since the event," she said. "Rather, partnering with a brand to spread awareness of what me and so many other students have been dealing with."

The company apologized on Sunday for the video, which was one of several posted by different influencers as part of the company's campaign for mental health awareness month in May. In other videos, influencers talk about the anxiety and stress they experienced after a car accident, becoming a mother and being bullied.

A paid social media post is seen as trivializing a tragedy.

Bioré apologized over the weekend on its social media accounts. In an emailed statement, the company said that its customers prioritized mental health and that it had worked to reflect those values for the past four years.

A Bioré representative said that the company had been in contact with Ms. Max-Brown more than once since the video was posted and planned to continue to provide her with support. The representative declined to say how much Ms. Max-Brown was paid for the post.

The video was posted just before the first anniversary of the elementary school shooting in Uvalde, Texas, that left 19 students and two teachers dead. There have been more than 230 mass shootings in the United States this year, according to the Gun Violence Archive, a nonprofit research group that tracks gun violence.

As of Monday morning, Ms. Max-Brown had more than 27,600 followers on TikTok, where she posts videos about college life, makeup and being tall. She has done other brand partnership videos in the past, including with Bioré, and had also posted about the shooting after it happened in February.

In a since-deleted two-minute video posted the week of the shooting, Ms. Max-Brown talked about what it was like during the shooting and shared her frustrations about how people were choosing to "protect a gun more than you can protect people's lives."

"I don't want people to have to experience this ever, in their lives," she says in the video. "It sucks. I have not slept in days because all I can think about is fellow students, that I know, literally being killed."

China's Ban on Micron Escalates Chip War

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

to crucial tools needed to make advanced chips, as well as access to the chips that run supercomputers and craft powerful artificial intelligence algorithms.

The Micron action, widely seen as a reprisal for those moves, shows some of China's advantages over the United States: a speedy, and feared, authoritarian rule that can quickly pronounce and enforce absolute bans. It also offers a glimpse of new tactics by Beijing.

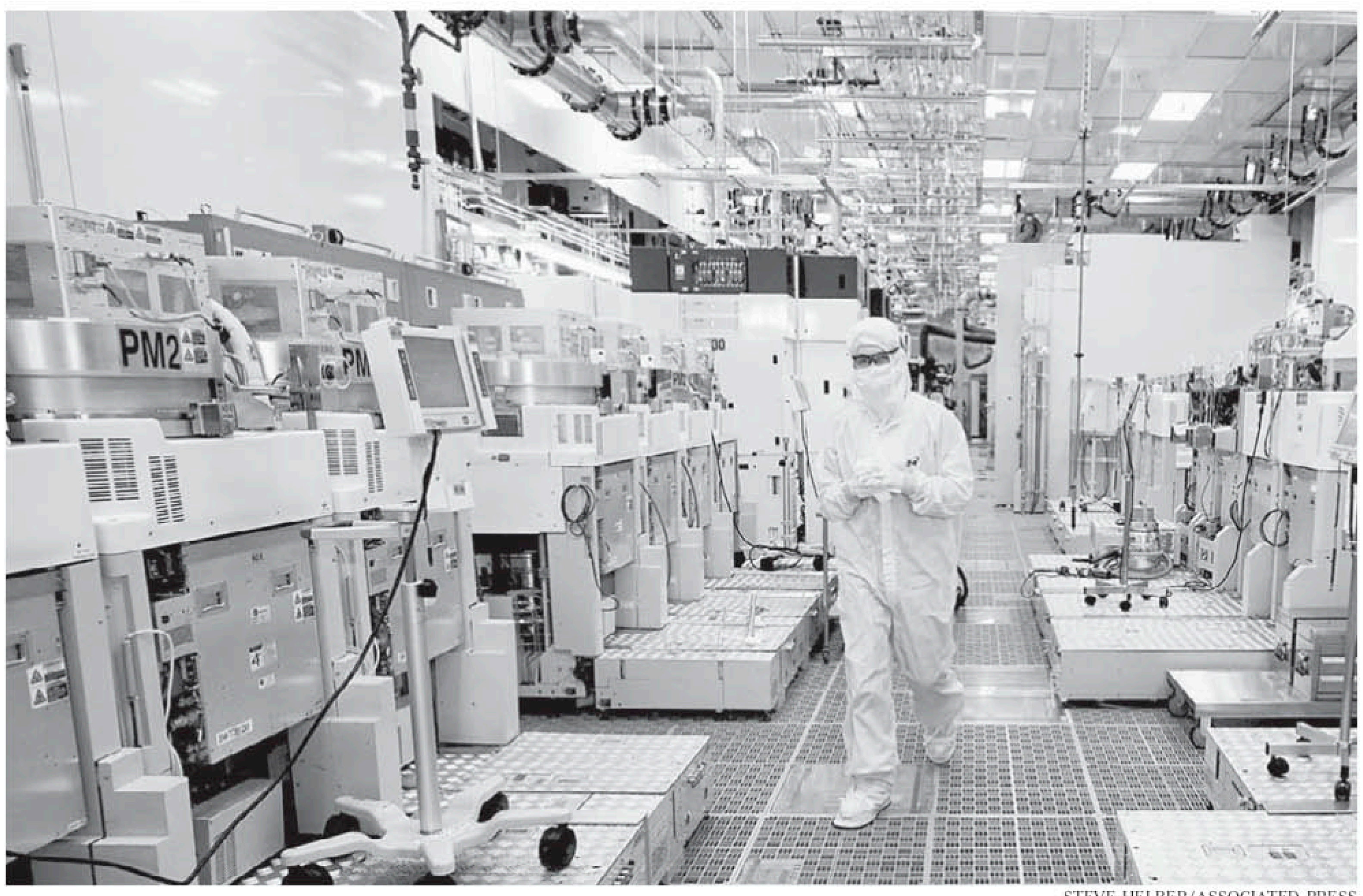
With the block of Micron, the authorities carved out a space in the industry that Chinese chip makers could fill. The move could also present a new wedge between the United States and its allies, whose companies could make billions of dollars in sales if they were to step in and pick up business that Micron might lose.

For Beijing, hurting an American company that makes critical equipment advances the government's goal of boosting its domestic tech sector.

"It may not be feasible or necessary to completely replace all products with domestic ones, but for these core products, we need to develop our own capabilities and avoid being overly dependent," said Xiang Ligang, a director of a Beijing technology consortium who has advised the Chinese government on technology issues. "This applies not only to the chip industry but also to other sectors," he added.

For the better part of a decade, China and the United States have jockeyed over global technological leadership. Chinese computer hacks of American firms, and policies designed to acquire closely held intellectual property, raised red flags in Washington. In Beijing, revelations from Edward J. Snowden, the former U.S. intelligence contractor, exposed the vulnerability in relying too much on American tech.

As each side maneuvered to find new advantages, both came to focus on the semiconductor industry. The tiny microchips that do the thinking for just about all electronics were a convenient choke point for the United States, which worked to cut off China's access to the smallest and fastest chips. The hope was to make China's supercomputers less smart



STEVE HELBER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A Micron plant in Manassas, Va. China has barred companies handling critical information from buying Micron chips.

and its smartphones less salable.

To counter Washington, China lavished subsidies on domestic chip leaders. While they failed to catch up to global rivals in the arena of the most advanced chips, some firms succeeded with less sophisticated parts, like memory chips and larger logic chips that work in cheaper smartphones and cars.

Then the Biden administration in October announced a major set of policies aimed at China's most successful semiconductor companies. The move, along with billions in new subsidies for chip production in the United States, were viewed dimly by Chinese policymakers, said Paul Triolo, the senior vice president for China at Albright Stonebridge Group, a strategy advisement firm.

"Officials in Beijing over the past months have been complaining to anyone who will listen about U.S. actions," he said. "Beijing views these moves as primarily politically driven and is now willing to go tit for tat," Mr. Triolo added.

In some ways, China is better equipped for that exchange. China's authoritarian system enables quick action and guarantees that

'The ultimate goal of retaliating against Micron is to urge certain American companies to restrain themselves.'

Teng Tai, an economist in Beijing.

few domestic firms will break with policy.

In the United States, political debate and legal challenges can dull the sharpness of government efforts. Major American companies, for instance, found legal workarounds to Washington's attempts to cut component sales to companies like the Chinese telecom equipment maker Huawei. Some multinationals successfully lobbied for licenses to allow them to keep selling to blacklisted companies.

By targeting Micron specifically, China is hitting at one of the few sectors — memory chips — that it has a toehold in with its chip competition with the United States.

While protecting such success by barring American competitors makes strategic sense, China remains very reliant on the United States for advanced chips, according to Teng Tai, an economist and the director of the Wanbo New Economic Research Institute in Beijing.

"The ultimate goal of retaliating against Micron is to urge certain American companies to restrain themselves, so we could further promote technology and trade cooperation, and avoid pursuing an isolated and self-reliant approach," he wrote Monday on Weibo, a Chinese social media outlet.

Another question that Sunday's action against Micron raises is how the United States' ally South Korea will respond. Its companies, in particular Samsung and SK Hynix, have the most to gain from the Micron ban. The two companies stand to pick up customers from Micron, which reported $3.3 billion in sales in China in 2022.

Mr. Xiang, the Chinese government adviser, said: "Why should South Korea blindly follow the United States and harm its own interests? I don't think South Korea has such an obligation."

Huge Chip Research Site To Land in Silicon Valley

By DON CLARK

SAN FRANCISCO — Silicon Valley got its name from computer chips, but no longer plays a central role in shaping how they are made. A major supplier to the industry hopes to change that.

Applied Materials, the biggest maker of machines for producing semiconductors, said on Monday that it planned to build a massive research facility near its hometown, Santa Clara, Calif., to allow chip makers and universities to collaborate on advances to make more powerful chips. Silicon Valley hasn't seen a comparable semiconductor construction project in more than 30 years, industry analysts say.

The company expects to invest up to $4 billion in the project over seven years, with a portion of that money coming from federal subsidies, while creating up to 2,000 engineering jobs.

The plan is the latest in a string of chip-related projects spurred by the CHIPS Act, a $52 billion package of subsidies that Congress passed last year to reduce U.S. dependence on Asian factories for the critical components. What sets Applied Materials' move apart is that it focuses on research, rather than manufacturing, and is a substantial new commitment to the industry's original hub.

Chip makers that grew up in Silicon Valley have long chosen to build new "fabs," the sophisticated factories that fabricate chips from silicon wafers, in less costly states and countries. But Applied Materials is betting that technical talent at nearby universities and the local companies that design chips will spur innovation quickly, making up for cost differences with other locations.

"You can connect more leaders in this ecosystem here than anyplace in the world," said Gary Dickerson, the chief executive of Applied Materials. "There's no place like this."

Applied Materials hosted an event on Monday in Sunnyvale, Calif., to discuss the project for an audience that included employees, customers, city officials and Vice President Kamala Harris.

The company said it would use a 150-pound piece of silicon, which one executive called "easily the biggest piece of silicon in Silicon Valley," as a cornerstone for the new center.

Politicians from both parties supported the CHIPS Act, partly out of fears that China will one day exert control over Taiwan and factories there that produce the most advanced chips. Besides encouraging domestic chip manufacturing, the legislation allocated about $11 billion to spur related research and development.

Chip research now takes place in several phases in multiple locations, including university labs and collaborative centers such as the Albany NanoTech Complex in New York. Applied Materials participates with other companies in that center and operates a research fab in Silicon Valley where chip makers can work with its machines and those of other toolmakers.

But many of the core chores in developing new production processes are done by chip manufacturers in fabs with a broad array of equipment. The proposed center, which Applied Materials calls Epic, is set to have ultraclean production space bigger than three football fields and is designed to give university researchers and other engineers comparable resources to experiment with new materials and techniques for creating advanced chips.

One goal is to reduce the time it takes for new ideas to flow from the research labs to companies designing new manufacturing gear, information that is now often delayed as it is filtered through the chip makers.

"The trouble is, those customers need time to figure out what they need," said H.-S. Philip Wong, a Stanford professor of electrical engineering who was briefed on the company's plans. "There is a big hole in there."

Applied Materials also said chip makers would be able to reserve space in the center and try out new tools before they were commercially available.

The plan hinges partly on whether Applied Materials can win subsidies under the CHIPS Act, which the Commerce Department says has already attracted expressions of interest from more than 300 companies. Mr. Dickerson said that the company planned to build the center in any case, but that government funding could affect the project's scale.

Assuming the center evolves as planned, it could substantially bolster Silicon Valley's role in the evolution of chips, said G. Dan Hutcheson, vice chair at the market research firm TechInsights.

"It really is a vote of confidence for the Valley," he said.

CHRISTOPHER GREGORY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

An Applied Materials site in Texas in 2013. The company expects to invest up to $4 billion in its new research center in California over seven years.

Students' Rights at Issue in School Book Removals

By ELIZABETH A. HARRIS and ALEXANDRA ALTER

A Georgia school district may have violated its students' civil rights by removing certain books from its libraries, creating a "hostile environment" for students based on race, sex or national origin, said the United States Department of Education.

The department's Office for Civil Rights was investigating whether Forsyth County Schools had violated students' rights, and announced a settlement on Friday.

In a letter to the superintendent of Forsyth County Schools, the Education Department's Office for Civil Rights said that in the fall of 2021, the district began receiving complaints from some parents that material in the library was

Some feel targeted by the banning of L.G.B.T.Q. content.

sexually explicit or had L.G.B.T.Q. content. The district eventually responded by removing some books. The debate concerning the books' removal left some students feeling targeted, said Catherine E. Lhamon, the education department's Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights.

"When they removed books, there was a lot of discussion in the school community about which books would be removed, and it looked like the books being removed were by and about L.G.B.T.Q.I.+ people, and by and about people of color," Ms. Lhamon said. "Students heard that message and felt unsafe in response."

The Education Department said that the district agreed to take certain steps as part of the settlement, including conducting a survey of students about their school environment and submitting to ongoing monitoring by the Office for Civil Rights.

In a statement, Jennifer Caracciolo, a spokeswoman for Forsyth County Schools, said the district "is committed to providing a safe, connected and thriving community for all students and their families."

The Education Department's involvement in Georgia marks a significant step in the Biden administration's efforts to address book removals, and highlights the degree to which book bans have become a potent national political issue. Recently, President Biden referred to book bans as a new threat to Americans' freedoms in a video announcing his campaign for a second term.

"As we're seeing this issue of book removals and book bans surging around the country, it's important to remind every school community that they have a federal civil rights obligation to not operate a hostile environment based on the race or sex of their students," Ms. Lhamon said.

For the past two years, free speech organizations have tracked a spike in book bans across the country, fueled by a growing and organized movement to remove books on certain subjects from school districts and libraries.

As Demand Is Increasing, First Class Is Expanding

By JULIE WEED

Does it seem like that long walk back to economy class goes past more and more rows of cushy premium seats? You may be right.

Driven by a rise in leisure travelers willing to pay more for a wider seat, extra legroom and a nicer meal in premium economy or first or business class, airlines are cashing in by reconfiguring their cabins to accommodate more of those higher-priced comfy seats, and using larger planes that have more premium seating on existing routes.

The moves are significant: Major U.S. airlines are expanding premium seating by 25 to 75 percent in portions of their fleets.

Leisure travelers began upgrading in earnest as the pandemic eased, said David Slotnick, who follows the aviation industry for the travel website the Points Guy. Still feeling the lingering fear of an airborne virus, some fliers felt safer with a little more space between them and the passenger next door, and were willing to pay more for it. And after months of not spending any travel dollars, there was a good

NADA HAYEK

deal of pent-up demand.

Premium seat prices fell during the pandemic because business travelers weren't flying, said Mr. Slotnick, giving leisure travelers a chance to experience life at the front of the plane in first, business and premium economy seats. Airlines noticed the appetite of these customers, and have been setting prices as high as they can while still feeling affordable, he said.

The price of airline tickets overall has also surged as inflation has risen and travelers have rushed to make up for lost time. At the same time, previously lagging business travel has started to pick up again.

Airlines see this shift in demand as a financial boon, said Chris Lopinto, a co-founder of ExpertFlyer, a website that provides seat maps, cabin upgrade availability and other information to frequent fliers. Aircraft are being upgraded with more premium seating to increase revenue per flight, Mr. Lopinto said.

Cabin retrofit projects are planned over several years and take into account the age of the existing interiors and customer demand and expectations, among other factors, according to Mark Muren, United Airlines' managing director for identity, product and loyalty. Planes need to be taken out of rotation to get this work done, so airlines don't undertake this work lightly, said Helane Becker, an airline analyst at Cowen, an investment bank.

United, for example, has increased the capacity of domestic premium seating — which includes Economy Plus and first class — by 25 percent overall compared with the beginning of 2019. In North America, there will be more than 53 premium seats per flight by 2026, about 75 percent more than there were in 2019. On some planes that fly internationally, United expanded the number of business class seats to 46 from 30 by removing some of the economy seats. Passengers are most likely to experience these changes on United's cross-country flights (between San Francisco and Newark, for example) or those to Hawaii, according to the aviation data analytics firm Cirium.

American also has plans to increase premium economy and business class seating, adding 45 percent more on long-haul flights by 2026. The carrier's Boeing 777-300ER, 787-9 and Airbus A321XLR jets will all offer more premium economy and business class seating. Those aircraft are typically used on long-haul international and transcontinental routes, according to the company, but the schedule has not been set for 2024 network routes yet, which is when the changes will begin to appear.

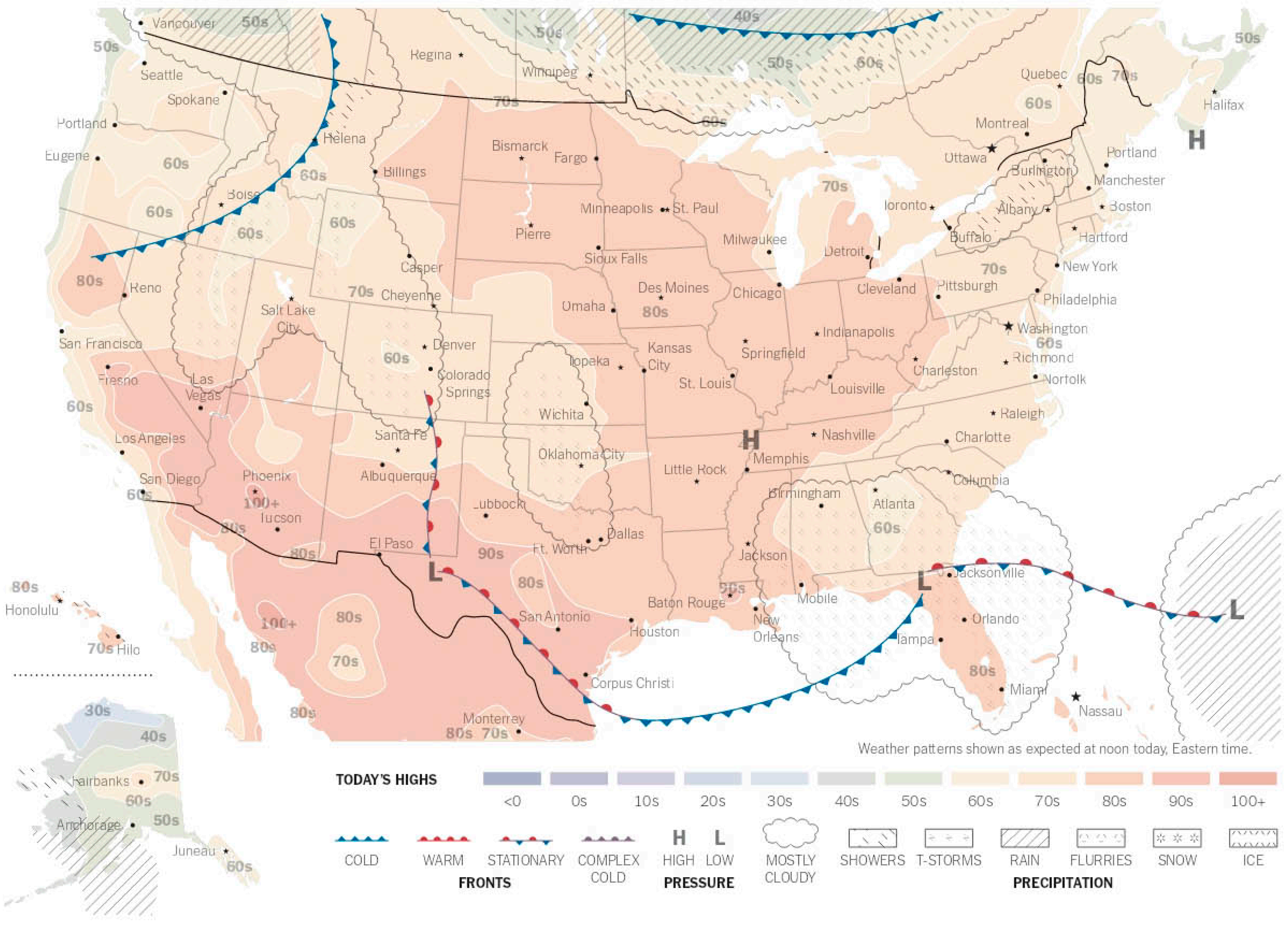
Delta will offer 15,000 more premium economy or business class seats a day compared with before the pandemic, according to the company. On Delta's 767-400 planes, 20 economy and six business class seats were taken out to make room for a 20-seat premium economy cabin. On some A330 models, 16 premium economy seats were removed to install 21 business class seats. Customers will most likely see the changes on Delta's trans-Atlantic routes, and possibly also on domestic routes like New York to Los Angeles, and Atlanta to Honolulu, according to analysis by Cirium.

Some of the cushiest seats are getting even more luxurious. Delta One "cabins," available on some international flights, offer full-height closing doors along with a lie-flat bed and other amenities.

The premium cabins may be growing, but if you want to lie back and enjoy one of these new seats, it's still going to cost you: In early May, a sample round-trip from New York to Los Angeles on the three major airlines for the first week of June started at about $300 for economy, $900 for premium economy and $1,200 for business.

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Metropolitan Forecast

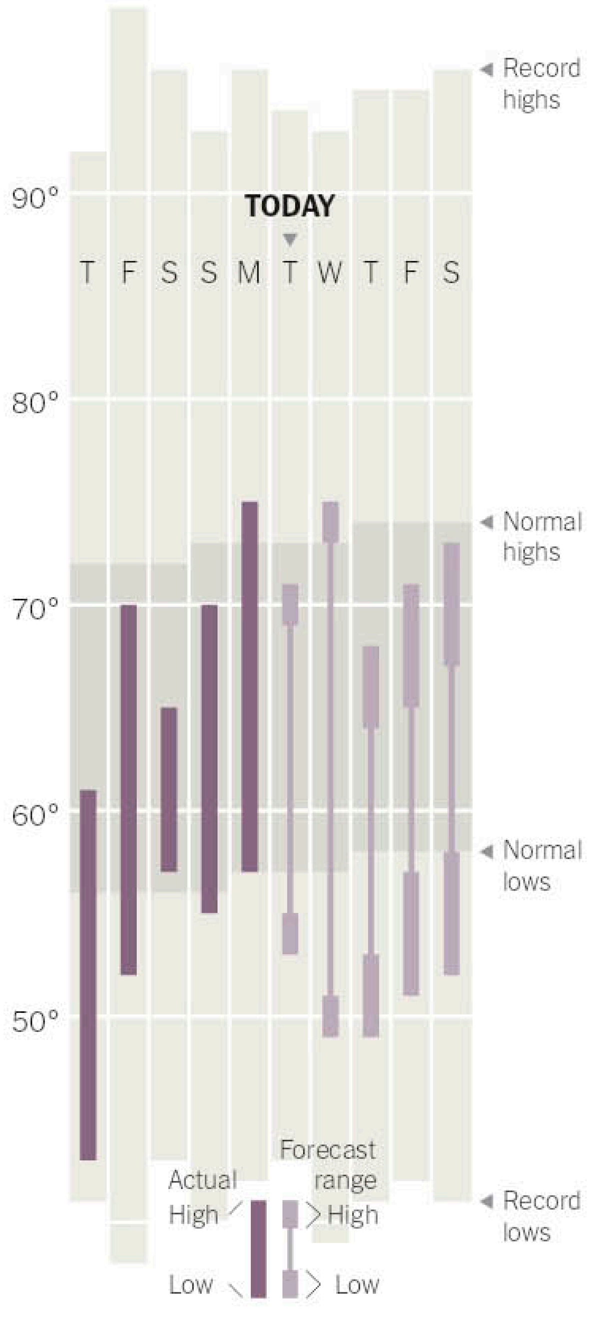
TODAY ....Plenty of sunshine
High 70. High pressure will promote sunshine. The sky may appear hazy because of wildfire smoke from Canada. There will be a wind at 4-8 miles per hour.

TONIGHT ....Partly cloudy
Low 54. Weather conditions will remain quiet throughout the night with high pressure nearby. The sky will be clear to partly cloudy with winds at 3-6 m.p.h.

TOMORROW ..Sunshine mixing with clouds
High 74. After some early sunshine, a new storm will bring clouds in the afternoon. Thundershowers may approach late in the day. Temperatures will be near the average for this time of the year.

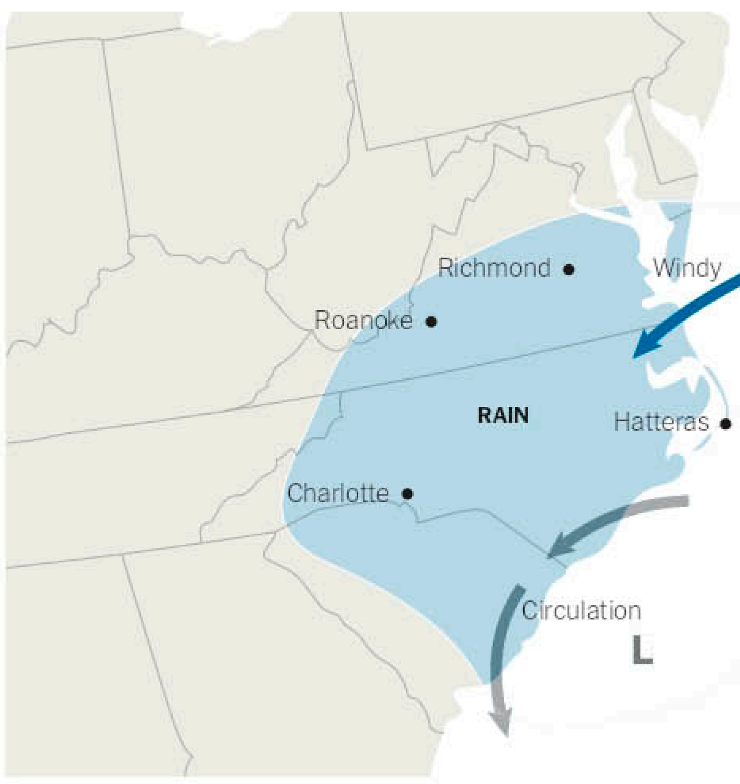
THURSDAY ....Breezy and not as warm
The day will turn out cooler than recent days despite some sunshine in the afternoon. There will be a wind that could gust on occasion up to 25 m.p.h. High 66.

FRIDAY
SATURDAY ....Mix of sunshine and clouds
Friday will bring some sunshine as high pressure lingers over the region. High 68. Some rain cannot be ruled out Saturday with a potential coastal system. High 70.



Highlight: East Coast Storm for Saturday

A storm is expected to organize off the southeast coast of the United States on Saturday, bringing rain to portions of the Carolinas and Virginia with the potential for localized flooding. Along the coast, gusty onshore winds will produce rough surf and strong rip currents on the beaches. There may also be minor coastal flooding at times of high tide.



National Forecast

An increase in showers and thunderstorms across the Southeast states will be accompanied by building seas and surf in the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. There is a chance of tropical systems developing in the western Atlantic into the weekend.

Some spotty showers will dot the interior Northeast Region as thunderstorms develop over the southern High Plains and briefly become severe later in the day. Much of the rest of the eastern two-thirds of the nation will be dry, as well as much of the Pacific Coast.

As cooler air expands from Washington to California, Utah, Wyoming and Montana, showers and thunderstorms will form over the interior West. Most of the rain in the West will fall during the afternoon and evening hours.

Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.

Temperature

Avg. daily departure from normal this month.............. -0.1°
Avg. daily departure from normal this year .... +4.4°

Reservoir levels (New York City water supply)
Yesterday 98%
Est. normal 99%

Precipitation (in inches)
Yesterday 0.00
Record 1.25

For the last 30 days
Actual 7.82
Normal 3.85

For the last 365 days
Actual 46.21
Normal 49.52

LAST 30 DAYS

Air pressure
High .... 30.21 noon
Low .... 30.09 1 a.m.

Humidity
High .... 83% 6 a.m.
Low .... 39% 2 p.m.

Cooling Degree Days
An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature rose above 65
Yesterday.. 1
So far this month.............................. 35
So far this season (since January 1) 76
Normal to date for the season 49

Trends

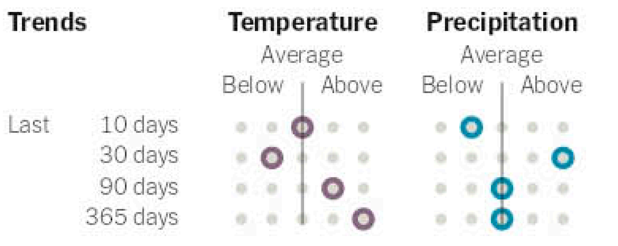


Chart shows how recent temperature and precipitation trends compare with those of the last 30 years.

Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C ...... Clouds
F ...... Fog
H ...... Haze
I ...... Ice
PC ...... Partly cloudy
R ...... Rain
Sh ...... Showers
S ...... Sun
Sn ...... Snow
SS ...... Snow showers
T ...... Thunderstorms
Tr ...... Trace
W ...... Windy
– ...... Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	75/ 57 0	70/ 54 PC	74/ 50 S
Bridgeport	70/ 56 0	64/ 50 PC	69/ 50 S
Caldwell	79/ 52 0	73/ 47 PC	79/ 52 S
Danbury	74/ 50 0	70/ 43 PC	75/ 45 S
Islip	72/ 55 0	66/ 50 PC	70/ 50 S
Newark	76/ 61 0	70/ 53 PC	76/ 53 S
Trenton	76/ 52 0	70/ 47 PC	75/ 53 S
White Plains	73/ 54 0	68/ 47 PC	73/ 47 S

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	75/ 52 0	74/ 52 PC	77/ 44 T
Albuquerque	78/ 56 0.10	84/ 60 S	87/ 60 S
Anchorage	56/ 45 0	53/ 44 R	56/ 41 R
Atlanta	72/ 62 0.10	70/ 60 T	80/ 58 C
Atlantic City	69/ 56 0	65/ 53 W	67/ 54 S
Austin	85/ 63 0	89/ 66 PC	86/ 66 C
Baltimore	83/ 57 0	77/ 53 PC	81/ 58 S
Baton Rouge	85/ 67 0	90/ 66 T	86/ 62 T
Birmingham	78/ 65 0.08	72/ 56 PC	82/ 61 PC
Boise	74/ 52 0	75/ 53 C	78/ 52 PC
Boston	61/ 49 0	62/ 50 S	70/ 47 S
Buffalo	70/ 49 0	78/ 58 PC	65/ 42 PC
Burlington	68/ 41 0	78/ 58 S	68/ 44 T
Casper	82/ 50 0	77/ 49 T	77/ 46 T
Charlotte	81/ 61 0	76/ 58 PC	79/ 54 PC
Chattanooga	82/ 64 0.02	79/ 58 PC	83/ 60 S
Chicago	81/ 59 0	85/ 59 S	65/ 48 S
Cincinnati	79/ 58 0	82/ 59 S	82/ 50 PC
Cleveland	77/ 54 0	80/ 59 PC	74/ 45 S
Colorado Springs	74/ 48 0	73/ 51 T	70/ 49 T
Columbus	81/ 56 0	83/ 59 S	82/ 47 PC
Concord, N.H.	71/ 39 0	70/ 42 S	76/ 43 T
Dallas-Ft. Worth	83/ 64 0	85/ 66 PC	83/ 66 T
Denver	76/ 51 0	78/ 52 T	75/ 50 T
Des Moines	81/ 58 0	83/ 60 S	83/ 54 C
Detroit	79/ 54 0	83/ 57 S	73/ 41 S
El Paso	94/ 66 0	96/ 69 S	96/ 71 S
Fargo	88/ 65 0	89/ 55 T	70/ 54 C
Hartford	74/ 45 0	73/ 44 S	77/ 49 S
Honolulu	86/ 74 0	86/ 73 PC	84/ 75 PC
Houston	87/ 66 0	90/ 69 PC	90/ 68 PC
Indianapolis	82/ 58 0	83/ 61 S	84/ 49 PC
Jackson	85/ 64 0	84/ 57 T	86/ 60 C
Jacksonville	80/ 68 0.41	78/ 67 R	75/ 63 R
Kansas City	79/ 57 0	83/ 59 S	83/ 62 T
Key West	87/ 78 0.11	87/ 78 Sh	86/ 76 T
Las Vegas	96/ 76 0	97/ 74 S	94/ 72 S
Lexington	80/ 59 0	83/ 57 S	85/ 55 S
Little Rock	83/ 61 0	85/ 66 PC	86/ 66 C
Los Angeles	75/ 59 0	72/ 57 PC	70/ 57 PC
Louisville	81/ 60 0	85/ 62 S	86/ 59 S
Memphis	84/ 65 0	85/ 63 PC	86/ 66 PC
Miami	89/ 75 0.15	88/ 73 T	88/ 73 R
Milwaukee	74/ 54 0	79/ 54 S	57/ 47 W
Mpls.-St. Paul	83/ 60 0	85/ 58 PC	67/ 50 C
Nashville	82/ 61 0.05	83/ 61 S	86/ 59 PC
New Orleans	87/ 72 0	89/ 71 T	84/ 70 PC
Norfolk	75/ 60 0	68/ 59 PC	69/ 58 PC
Oklahoma City	77/ 59 0	78/ 61 T	76/ 62 T
Omaha	83/ 55 0	87/ 58 PC	86/ 62 PC
Orlando	87/ 70 0.40	87/ 69 R	85/ 69 R
Philadelphia	80/ 54 0	76/ 53 PC	81/ 57 S
Phoenix	101/ 75 0	101/ 74 S	98/ 73 S
Pittsburgh	78/ 57 0	79/ 55 PC	77/ 45 PC
Portland, Me.	62/ 41 0	61/ 45 S	63/ 45 S
Portland, Ore.	69/ 49 0	70/ 51 C	77/ 55 C
Providence	67/ 43 0	68/ 45 S	71/ 50 S
Raleigh	83/ 58 0	78/ 57 PC	76/ 55 PC
Reno	86/ 55 0	79/ 53 S	76/ 53 C
Richmond	82/ 56 0	77/ 53 PC	77/ 53 S
Rochester	64/ 44 0	79/ 57 PC	68/ 42 T
Sacramento	91/ 55 0	79/ 52 PC	79/ 53 PC
Salt Lake City	88/ 64 0.06	81/ 63 PC	81/ 63 PC
San Antonio	85/ 66 0	89/ 68 PC	87/ 68 PC
San Diego	67/ 61 0	67/ 59 PC	66/ 59 PC
San Francisco	69/ 53 0	66/ 53 PC	66/ 55 PC
San Jose	84/ 52 0	71/ 51 PC	71/ 54 PC
San Juan	90/ 76 0.17	88/ 76 T	87/ 75 T
Seattle	65/ 48 0.06	65/ 50 C	68/ 50 PC
Sioux Falls	84/ 56 0	84/ 58 S	84/ 60 PC
Spokane	63/ 46 0	68/ 47 PC	73/ 51 PC
St. Louis	83/ 60 0	86/ 66 S	87/ 62 S
St. Thomas	82/ 77 0.03	86/ 78 T	87/ 78 PC
Syracuse	73/ 48 0	80/ 58 PC	71/ 40 T
Tampa	90/ 74 0.17	87/ 72 T	86/ 72 T
Toledo	81/ 53 0	84/ 58 S	79/ 44 S
Tucson	97/ 65 0	97/ 66 S	95/ 67 S
Tulsa	81/ 59 0	82/ 63 PC	80/ 61 T
Virginia Beach	74/ 60 0	67/ 60 W	67/ 57 C
Washington	83/ 59 0	76/ 55 PC	81/ 57 S
Wichita	76/ 60 0	78/ 61 C	80/ 62 T
Wilmington, Del.	82/ 55 0	77/ 51 PC	80/ 56 S

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	73/ 60 0	73/ 61 R	72/ 60 Sh
Cairo	91/ 77 0	95/ 70 S	94/ 69 S
Cape Town	68/ 45 0	66/ 52 PC	67/ 53 PC
Dakar	81/ 73 0	82/ 74 C	82/ 75 C
Johannesburg	65/ 42 0	62/ 48 PC	71/ 55 S
Nairobi	81/ 60 0	75/ 60 T	75/ 59 PC
Tunis	74/ 61 0.03	78/ 62 PC	75/ 63 PC

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	101/ 70 0	106/ 79 PC	101/ 78 C
Bangkok	100/ 84 0.05	98/ 80 T	98/ 80 T
Beijing	86/ 58 0	88/ 61 PC	83/ 70 PC
Damascus	90/ 56 0	84/ 52 W	91/ 60 S
Hong Kong	91/ 82 0.54	82/ 76 R	82/ 77 T
Jakarta	91/ 78 0.20	90/ 76 T	91/ 77 T
Jerusalem	86/ 65 0	82/ 60 S	88/ 61 S
Karachi	91/ 83 0	95/ 83 W	95/ 84 W
Manila	90/ 82 0.05	91/ 81 T	90/ 81 T
Mumbai	91/ 83 0	92/ 83 S	93/ 83 S
New Delhi	109/ 81 0	106/ 82 PC	98/ 74 W
Riyadh	98/ 78 0	102/ 80 C	103/ 82 C
Seoul	79/ 57 0.01	80/ 53 S	81/ 55 PC
Shanghai	69/ 61 0.02	78/ 60 S	76/ 64 C
Singapore	90/ 77 0.14	89/ 80 T	90/ 80 T
Sydney	70/ 46 0	69/ 48 S	70/ 50 S
Taipei City	91/ 70 0.75	74/ 68 T	78/ 69 R
Tehran	90/ 66 0.13	92/ 71 S	94/ 76 S
Tokyo	81/ 64 0.03	62/ 57 R	73/ 59 S

Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	73/ 54 0	60/ 45 PC	62/ 49 PC
Athens	73/ 60 0.11	76/ 59 T	75/ 61 T
Berlin	79/ 57 0	66/ 46 T	61/ 46 PC
Brussels	67/ 52 0.04	62/ 42 PC	62/ 47 PC
Budapest	77/ 55 0.10	79/ 61 PC	75/ 57 PC
Copenhagen	73/ 54 0	59/ 49 Sh	62/ 50 PC
Dublin	61/ 49 0	63/ 44 PC	65/ 47 C
Edinburgh	61/ 49 0	61/ 46 PC	65/ 43 C
Frankfurt	82/ 58 0.01	69/ 46 C	65/ 49 PC
Geneva	77/ 55 0.05	73/ 57 T	68/ 51 T
Helsinki	70/ 45 0.14	71/ 44 PC	75/ 51 PC
Istanbul	70/ 58 0	69/ 56 R	73/ 58 S
Kyiv	74/ 49 0.02	73/ 56 PC	76/ 59 PC
Lisbon	73/ 56 0.07	78/ 59 T	78/ 61 T
London	66/ 49 0	65/ 48 PC	71/ 50 PC
Madrid	75/ 52 0.03	72/ 54 T	74/ 53 T
Moscow	68/ 49 0.12	71/ 54 Sh	67/ 56 PC
Nice	77/ 63 0	75/ 62 T	73/ 62 T
Oslo	73/ 48 0	70/ 48 Sh	75/ 43 PC
Paris	72/ 53 0	68/ 47 PC	67/ 49 PC
Prague	79/ 53 0	69/ 45 T	63/ 45 PC
Rome	76/ 55 0	75/ 56 PC	75/ 57 PC
St. Petersburg	68/ 50 0.18	71/ 52 Sh	75/ 52 S
Stockholm	70/ 45 0	71/ 44 PC	75/ 54 PC
Vienna	79/ 56 0	76/ 57 T	70/ 53 T
Warsaw	72/ 49 0	77/ 54 PC	74/ 56 PC

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	90/ 78 0	90/ 76 T	91/ 78 PC
Bermuda	75/ 71 0.21	75/ 70 Sh	77/ 71 R
Edmonton	72/ 54 0	70/ 43 C	68/ 43 S
Guadalajara	89/ 62 0	92/ 60 S	91/ 57 PC
Havana	88/ 69 0	91/ 70 T	88/ 69 T
Kingston	88/ 79 0	89/ 80 T	89/ 79 Sh
Martinique	86/ 77 0.05	88/ 75 Sh	88/ 76 PC
Mexico City	77/ 58 0	80/ 58 Sh	79/ 57 T
Monterrey	87/ 66 0	89/ 70 T	90/ 68 PC
Montreal	61/ 43 0	74/ 55 C	61/ 42 T
Nassau	85/ 75 0	85/ 74 PC	84/ 74 T
Panama City	83/ 75 0.36	88/ 74 T	90/ 74 T
Quebec City	59/ 36 0	71/ 50 S	56/ 41 Sh
Santo Domingo	86/ 73 0.19	89/ 74 T	90/ 74 T
Toronto	63/ 49 0	73/ 55 PC	60/ 41 Sh
Vancouver	59/ 54 0.01	59/ 50 C	66/ 52 PC
Winnipeg	78/ 46 0.06	73/ 51 R	68/ 51 W

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	67/ 61 0.12	69/ 64 C	70/ 63 T
Caracas	87/ 74 0.36	88/ 74 T	89/ 75 T
Lima	77/ 68 0	75/ 68 C	76/ 67 PC
Quito	66/ 49 0.17	66/ 49 Sh	64/ 51 T
Recife	84/ 75 0.47	86/ 77 Sh	84/ 74 Sh
Rio de Janeiro	79/ 68 0	79/ 68 S	79/ 70 Sh
Santiago	61/ 47 0.41	62/ 46 Sh	60/ 47 C

Recreational Forecast

Sun, Moon and Planets

First Quarter	Full	Last Quarter	New
May 27	June 3 11:42 p.m.	June 10	June 18 12:37 a.m.

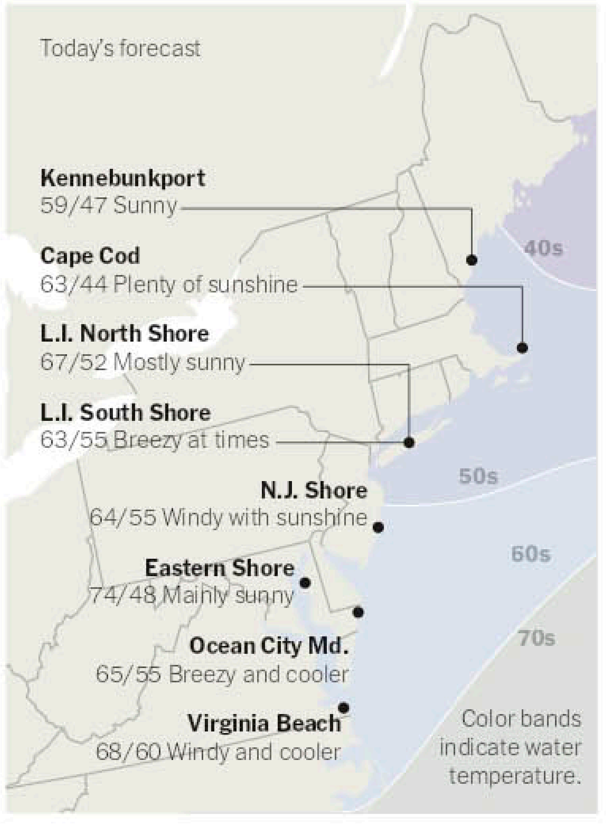
Sun	**RISE**	5:32 a.m.	**Moon**	**R**	8:23 a.m.
	SET	8:14 p.m.		**S**	12:22 a.m.
	NEXT R	5:32 a.m.		**R**	9:24 a.m.
Jupiter	**R**	4:09 a.m.	**Mars**	**R**	9:47 a.m.
	S	5:33 p.m.		**S**	12:31 a.m.
Saturn	**R**	2:02 a.m.	**Venus**	**R**	8:29 a.m.
	S	12:55 p.m.		**S**	11:47 p.m.

Boating
From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.
Winds will be out of the east at 7-14 knots. Waves will be 1-2 feet on New York Harbor and Long Island Sound and 2-4 feet on the ocean. Visibility will generally be unrestricted to the horizon.

High Tides

Atlantic City	10:56 a.m.	11:02 p.m.
Barnegat Inlet	11:14 a.m.	11:19 p.m.
The Battery	12:06 p.m.	11:58 p.m.
Beach Haven	12:46 p.m.	---
Bridgeport	2:14 a.m.	2:52 p.m.
City Island	2:14 a.m.	3:10 p.m.
Fire Island Lt.	12:14 p.m.	---
Montauk Point	12:03 a.m.	12:39 p.m.
Northport	2:16 a.m.	2:52 p.m.
Port Washington	2:10 a.m.	2:50 p.m.
Sandy Hook	11:28 a.m.	11:26 p.m.
Shinnecock Inlet	10:59 a.m.	11:14 p.m.
Stamford	2:17 a.m.	2:54 p.m.
Tarrytown	12:59 a.m.	1:55 p.m.
Willets Point	2:12 a.m.	3:08 p.m.

Beach and Ocean Temperatures



High pressure will remain over much of the Northeast, which will promote plenty of sunshine. The sky may appear hazy at times because of wildfire smoke from western Canada. A northeast wind might produce waves from 1-3 feet in New England while stronger winds could bring waves of 3-6 feet to the Middle Atlantic.

The New York Times

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ENERGY

An Oil Refiner in Europe Looks to Pig Manure For a Greener Future

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

The European Union and national governments like Switzerland's are forcing suppliers of oil products to increase the proportion of the fuel they sell that comes from renewable sources to mitigate climate change. Russia's efforts to use natural gas as political leverage in the war in Ukraine have added to the urgency to end dependence on fossil fuels.

As a result, companies that refine and sell oil are making significant investments that they would not have considered before. Varo bought an 80 percent stake in this biofuel plant in the Dutch municipality of Coevorden this year to gain a foothold in a business that is expected to grow rapidly. Shell, Europe's largest energy company, and BP recently spent billions to acquire similar biogas companies.

Varo is not an oil giant like Shell or BP, but its executives, engineers and traders are dealing with the same shifting demands as the industry changes. In interviews, they seemed enthusiastic about this transition but remained cautious, spreading their bets because it is far from clear how regulations and the markets will evolve. The company itself has set a goal of net zero emissions by 2040.

"We have seen, every year, countries adapting and changing the rules," said Theo Pannekeet, Varo's executive vice president for new energies and innovation. "It is a very high-risk environment."

At Coevorden, Mr. Ullrich is already supervising an expansion that will add 50 percent to the plant's output. The company also plans to invest in equipment to chill and liquefy the gas, so that it can be used as an environmentally friendly alternative to diesel.

The urgency to end dependence on fossil fuels is growing fast.

Looking ahead, Varo has a preliminary deal to supply the German airline Lufthansa with so-called sustainable aviation fuel, starting with a blend made from used cooking oil and later moving to hydrogen, considered by many to be the green fuel of the future.

The company's future is still linked to oil — Varo owns and operates Switzerland's only refinery, and a second one in Germany — but the company's executives say they can profit from gradually becoming greener and helping customers achieve their clean energy goals. And under various national schemes intended to gradually reduce emissions or certify energy as green, Varo can also earn so-called biotickets that can be sold to polluting companies — providing another important source of revenue.

But this brave new world of energy has obstacles. For instance, there isn't enough locally produced pig manure and other waste to keep the Coevorden plant going. That means Mr. Ullrich must scour the world for shiploads of spoiled corn and other agricultural detritus to fill its tanks. The plant even bought grain contaminated by an explosion that wrecked the port of Beirut, Lebanon, in 2020.

And the waste is not free. While natural gas prices soared last year in Europe, so did costs for the stuff used in biofuel as demand surged, contributing to a financial loss at the plant last year.

The global hunger for biofuels has led to questionable practices like cutting down forests for wood debris and growing crops for fuel instead of food. The total amount of appropriate waste and other inputs available is "many times smaller than the global demand for aviation fuel or shipping fuels or industrial gas supply," said Mark Brownstein, the senior vice president for energy transition at the U.S.-based Environmental Defense Fund, a nonprofit advocacy group.

Yet, Varo executives are confident that their foothold in European energy markets will help secure their future. Now that Germany is cut off from Russian natural gas, they figure, it will be hungry for a green alternative to generate electricity and to power factories that need a lot of energy like steel mills or chemical plants. The German border runs through a roadway just outside the biogas plant's gate. "We are in the right ZIP code," Dev Sanyal, Varo's chief executive, said in an interview.

Varo, which had about 2,100 employees and an annual revenue of $26 billion in 2022, is an 11-year-old company that earns about $500 million a year refining crude and distributing and trading oil products. Yet the company's owners — Carlyle, a private equity firm based in the United States, and Vitol, a commodities trading giant — realized that the business needed to prepare for changes ahead. Last year, they brought in Mr. Sanyal, who led the gas and renewable energy business at BP to shift direction.

Like other petroleum companies, Varo is trying to please several audiences: customers and regulators who demand clean energy, as well as the steady buyers of the gasoline, diesel and other products pumped out by its two refineries.

With environmental pressures growing, sticking to the status quo is not an option for oil companies. "If all they do is transform crude oil into refined products, at some point that is not attractive to do in Europe," said Alan Gelder, the vice president for refining and chemicals at Wood Mackenzie, a consulting firm.

When Eduard Geus, a former Shell executive, took charge of Varo's refinery in Cressier, Switzerland, last year, he was skeptical about the viability of the unit, which was built in 1966 in a forested area. But he said he realized that with petroleum-based fuels likely to still be in demand for some time, especially for aviation, a two-track course for the refinery made more sense.

That meant streamlining operations at the refinery to reduce energy consumption and emissions, while also planning new processing units for lower carbon fuels made from used cooking oil or debris from tree-cutting in Switzerland's forests. Varo is already mixing small amounts of biofuel with the diesel and gasoline it produces for cars and trucks, but the company will need to go much further in the future.

Not everyone thinks Varo is doing enough. In October, a small band of demonstrators from a group called Debt for Climate Switzerland blocked the refinery's entrance to demand a transition away from fossil fuels, but they were arrested by the police.

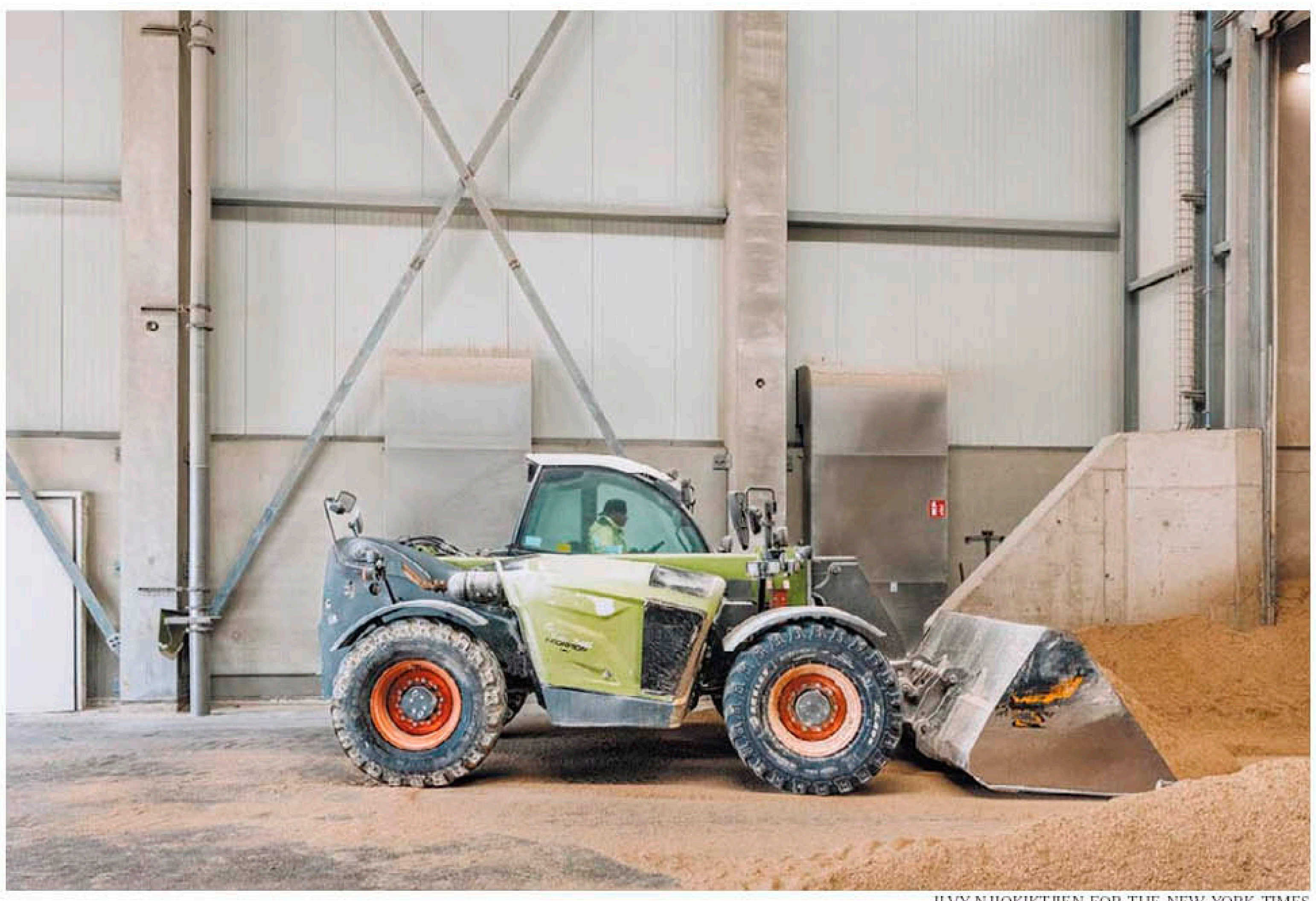
The government of Neuchâtel, the local Swiss canton, seems to want to keep the refinery open. It provides jobs for nearly 300 people and generates work for many others. Managers like Mr. Geus are careful to be good neighbors, recently running pipes carrying excess heat from the plant to homes in nearby villages. "It ties us still more closely to the neighboring communities," he said.

As Switzerland's only refinery, supplying around a third of the petroleum products the country consumes, the Cressier plant also bolsters the country's energy security. "It is good to have production on our land," said Yves Lehmann, who runs the canton's environment and energy department. "We are convinced that they will still have a role to play in the future."

Varo Energy's plant in Cressier is Switzerland's only oil refinery, supplying a third of the country's petroleum products.

ILVY NJIOKIKTJIEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tanks for fermenting gas at Coevorden. Hungry bacteria turns waste into methane gas within weeks.



ILVY NJIOKIKTJIEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Grain rejected for animal feed being pushed into a grinder after which it will help create biogas.

ENERGY

LEA MEIENBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ILVY NJIOKIKTJIEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

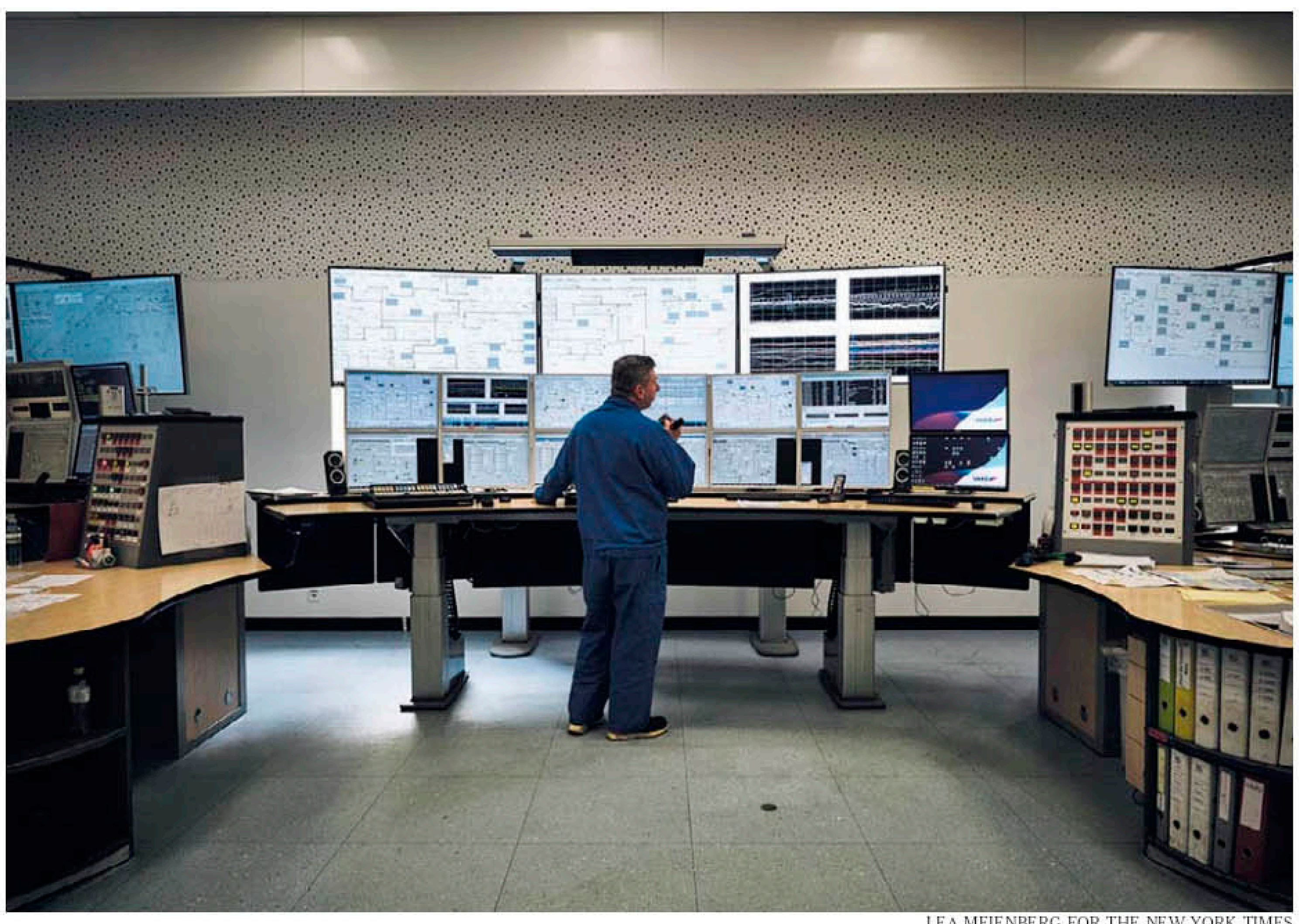
Fritz Ullrich is in charge of the biogas plant in Coevorden.

LEA MEIENBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Dev Sanyal, the C.E.O. of Varo Energy, previously worked for BP.

ILVY NJIOKIKTJIEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

New silos that will house methane-producing materials being moved into place at the Coevorden plant.



LEA MEIENBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Cressier refinery's control room. The plant is seen as crucial to Switzerland's energy security.

ILVY NJIOKIKTJIEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A collection of the samples of different types of grain and other materials tested by the laboratory.

N

Sports
The New York Times

SOCCER

AITOR ALCALDE/GETTY IMAGES

'Today, in Brazil, Spain is known as a country of racists.'

VINÍCIUS JÚNIOR, Real Madrid forward, in a post on social media. He pointed out abusive fans on Sunday in Valencia.

JOSE JORDAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Pelted With Slurs, a Star Calls Racism 'Normal' in Spain

The country's top soccer official acknowledges that 'we have a serious problem.'

By TARIQ PANJA

Vinícius Júnior has had enough.

The Real Madrid forward, a magnet for racist chants from the stands in Spanish stadiums for the past two seasons, took to social media after the latest attack against him on Sunday, when he was called a monkey by fans in Valencia. This time, he took aim not only at his abusers but also at Spain itself.

"It wasn't the first time, nor the second, nor the third," Vinícius Júnior wrote in a post on his Twitter and Instagram accounts. "Racism is normal in La Liga. The competition thinks it's normal, the federation does too and the opponents encourage it." Spain, he said, was becoming known in his native Brazil "as a country of racists."

On Sunday, Vinícius Júnior was met by fans chanting the word "mono" — monkey — before he even stepped off the Real Madrid bus outside the Mestalla stadium in Valencia. The match was briefly halted in the 71st minute as he pointed out some of his abusers to the referee, and an antiracism statement — part of a league protocol for such incidents — was read to the crowd over the stadium loudspeakers. By the end, though, it was Vinícius Júnior who was cast as the villain: He received a red card in the dying minutes of injury time after scuffling with an opponent who had charged at him.

Real Madrid said it believed the abuse directed at its player qualified as a hate crime under Spanish law, and the club said it had filed a complaint with the relevant authorities demanding an investigation. "We have a serious problem," the president of Spain's soccer federation acknowledged Monday, calling racism in the nation's stadiums an issue "that stains an entire team, an entire fan base and an entire country."

Bouts of racial abuse echoing through the stands in Spanish soccer stadiums are not uncommon or new, but they have become particularly pointed toward Vinícius Júnior, who has emerged as one of the league's marquee players since the departures of Lionel Messi and Cristiano Ronaldo.

In a statement announcing an investigation into the events on Sunday in Valencia, La Liga acknowledged it had reported nine separate incidents of racist abuse against Vinícius Júnior in the past two seasons alone. By then, the player had taken to social media, where he wrote that the attacks on him were tarnishing Spain's image around the world.

"A beautiful nation, which welcomed me and which I love, but which agreed to export the image of a racist country to the world," he wrote. "I'm sorry for the Spaniards who don't agree, but today, in Brazil, Spain is known as a country of racists."

He even suggested a failure to act against racism could drive him from the country.

The reaction to what occurred at the Mestalla brought new scrutiny on Spanish soccer's handling of racism inside stadiums. In a television interview immediately after the match, Real Madrid's coach, Carlo Ancelloti, reacted incredulously when he was asked to talk about the game. "I don't want to talk about football," he said. "I want to talk about what happened here."

In a news conference that followed, local journalists tried to correct Ancelloti's assessment that the entire stadium was responsible, telling him he had misheard the chanting. Then officials from Valencia issued denials of widespread racism in the stands, despite videos online appearing to show large sections of the crowd chanting "mono." Some reporters suggested to Ancelloti that a majority of supporters had actually been chanting "tonto," a word that means silly in Spanish.

"Whether it was 'mono' or 'tonto,' the referee stopped the game to open the racism protocol," Ancelotti replied. "He wouldn't do that if they just chanted 'tonto.' Speak to the referee."

Within hours, La Liga's chief executive, Javier Tebas, was engaged in a back-and-forth exchange with Vinícius Júnior on Twitter. In it, Tebas defended Spain, detailed the efforts the league had made to tackle racist behavior and scolded Vinícius for what Tebas said was a failure to show up to two meetings to discuss the abuse he had received.

Tebas's statement led to a furious response from the player.

"Once again, instead of criticizing racists, the president of La Liga appears on social media to attack me," Vinícius wrote. "As much as you talk and pretend not to read, the image of your championship has been hit by this. See the responses to your posts and you will have a surprise. Omitting yourself only makes you equal to racists."

The incident drew criticism, and messages of support, from around the world.

Speaking at a news conference at the close of a G7 summit in Japan, Brazil's president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, said he wanted to send a message of solidarity to Vinícius, saying it was "unjust" that he "gets insulted at every stadium where he plays."

"It's not possible, in the middle of the 21st century, to have such strong racial prejudice in so many football stadiums," Lula said.

Current and former players also rallied around Vinícius, taking aim at the authorities in Spain for not doing more to stamp out racism, which some commentators in the country have routinely described as merely an effort to gain an advantage on the field.

Kylian Mbappé, who almost moved to Spain last season to join Vinícius in Madrid, posted a message of support on Instagram. He was joined by Neymar, a Brazilian star who also faced racial abuse when he played in Spain for Barcelona.

La Liga issued a statement detailing what it said were its efforts to stamp out racism in its stadiums. The league said it was working with the authorities in Valencia to investigate what took place, and it vowed to take legal action if any hate crime was identified. Still, it is limited in the type of penalties it can levy against clubs. Stadium closures, for example, can be sanctioned only by the national soccer federation.

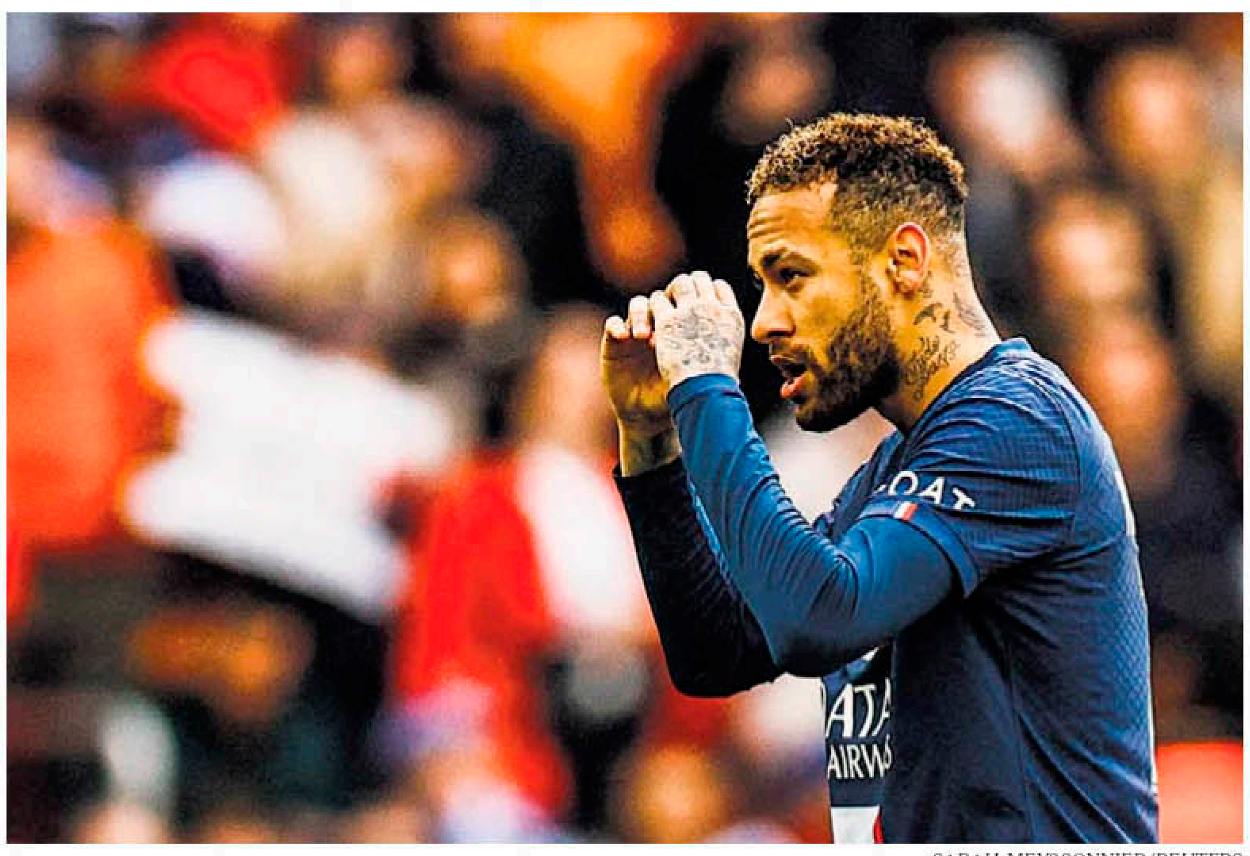
The latest incident will mean new scrutiny on the federation, and Spanish soccer, at a time it is looking for global support to secure the hosting rights to the 2030 World Cup as part of a joint effort with Portugal and Morocco.

"We have a problem of behavior, of education, of racism," the Spanish soccer federation president Luis Rubiales told a news conference Monday. "And as long as there is one fan or one group of fans making insults based on someone's sexual orientation or skin color or belief, then we have a serious problem."

KAI FORSTERLING/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Vinícius Júnior received a red card late in Sunday's game after scuffling with an opponent who had charged at him. Earlier, fans had chanted "mono" (monkey).

JULIEN DE ROSA/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



SARAH MEYSSONNIER/REUTERS

Kylian Mbappé of France, left, and Neymar expressed support for Vinícius. Neymar, a fellow Brazilian star, also faced racial abuse when he played in La Liga. Although the league said it was investigating the latest episode, its chief executive defended Spain and engaged in an argument with Vinícius on social media.

PRO BASKETBALL

A Smiling Soul-Crusher Has the Heat One Win From the Finals

SCOTT CACCIOLA

ON PRO BASKETBALL

MIAMI — For much of Game 3 of the N.B.A.'s Eastern Conference finals on Sunday, Jimmy Butler did something he does not often do: He played a supporting role. He created off the dribble, zipped passes to his Heat teammates for open shots and pushed to score only when the opportunity made too much sense not to seize it.

Butler could have easily tried to take over against the reeling Boston Celtics. But he has shaped the Heat in his no-quit, self-assured image, and empowered their cast of unsung players to lead. Then, shortly before halftime on Sunday, as if anyone needed to be reminded of his presence, Butler dribbled the ball upcourt and went straight at the Celtics' Grant Williams, his latest nemesis, for a jumper off the glass.

After drawing a foul on the shot for good measure, Butler fell to his back and stayed there for longer than was necessary — just so he could point at Williams and make it clear that he had made him look foolish, again.

"In all the moments of truth," Heat Coach Erik Spoelstra said, "Jimmy is going to put his will on the game."

Another game, another clinic given by Miami, whose 128-102 victory on Sunday was an end-to-end drubbing. The Heat, who have a 3-0 series lead, will go for the sweep at home on Tuesday, driven by their increasingly credible championship dreams as an eighth seed.

The Celtics' Jaylen Brown called the Game 3 loss "embarrassing." Boston Coach Joe Mazzulla took the blame. "I just didn't have them ready to play," he said.

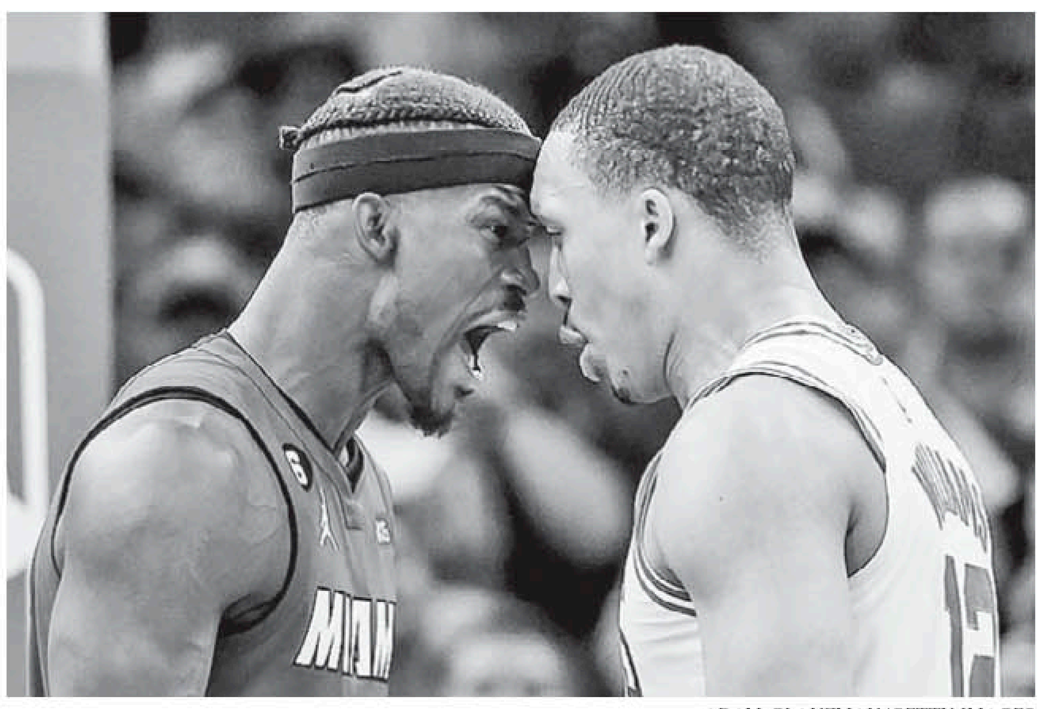
All things considered, it was a muted performance by Butler, who finished with 16 points, 8 rebounds and 6 assists. But for the first time in the series, he faced traps. Both he and Bam Adebayo found teammates who were willing to help. Gabe Vincent scored 29 points, and Duncan Robinson finished with 22.

"Jimmy and Bam are fueling that," Spoelstra said. "They are just infusing those guys with confidence."

It would be easy to describe Butler as a showman, as someone who turns the court into a stage. He is not an impassive person. He emotes. He interacts with opposing players. He sings to himself. And he seems to delight in those moments (plural) when a crowded arena awaits his next act.

Make no mistake: There is a theatrical element to his approach, especially in the playoffs. It was on full display in Game 2 on Friday, after Williams connected on a 3-pointer to build on Boston's narrow lead midway through the fourth quarter. Williams began jawing with Butler on his way back up the court. On the ensuing possession, Butler scored on Williams and drew a foul. Afterward, Butler and Williams knocked foreheads as they continued their — how to put this delicately? — conversation.

SAM NAVARRO/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS



ADAM GLANZMAN/GETTY IMAGES

"In all the moments of truth, Jimmy is going to put his will on the game," Miami Coach Erik Spoelstra said of Jimmy Butler (22), who had 16 points in a Game 3 victory Sunday. A confrontation Friday with Grant Williams, near left, seemed to motivate Butler.

"I like that," Butler said. "I'm all for that. It makes me key in a lot more. It pushes that will that I have to win a lot more. It makes me smile. When people talk to me, I'm like, OK, I know I'm a decent player if you want to talk to me out of everybody that you can talk to."

For Williams, talking to Butler was a miscalculation. The Heat closed that game with a 24-9 run. After the win, Butler strode to his news conference crooning along to "Somebody's Problem," a song by the country artist Morgan Wallen, which Butler was playing on his iPhone.

"It's a hit in the locker room right now," said Butler, who described himself as the team D.J. "So I get to pick and choose what we listen to."

The thing about Butler, though, is that all his extracurriculars — and all the attention that he draws to himself, whether intentional or not — are a means to an end. They motivate him, push him to perform. He is not brash for the sake of being brash. He is brash because being brash helps him win.

"He loves to win," said Mike Marquis, who was his coach at Tyler Junior College, a two-year school about 100 miles southeast of Dallas. "Some people hate to lose. He absolutely loves to win. I think sometimes there's a negative connotation with hating to lose, with bad sportsmanship and all that. But when I coached him, he didn't have any of that — he just loved to win."

Butler, who had a difficult childhood, was not highly recruited coming out of Tomball High School in Texas. He had a scholarship offer from Centenary, a small college in Louisiana that has since transitioned to Division III, and a partial offer from Quinnipiac. But Tyler, Butler said, was where he felt wanted.

Joe Fulce, a teammate of his at Tyler and later at Marquette, recalled that Butler had an uncanny ability to "curate his own world" whenever he played basketball. Outside the gym, there were problems and challenges. Inside the gym, the many distractions of his daily life somehow ceased to exist.

"That's hard as hell to do," Fulce said. "It's almost like he was a magician."

Marquis caught another glimpse of that single-minded focus when the N.B.A. concluded

Butler's brash style raises his game, as the deflated Celtics learn.

its 2019-20 season inside a spectator-free bubble at Walt Disney World because of the coronavirus pandemic. While other players were going stir crazy, Butler thrived in that sort of insulated environment, hauling the fifth-seeded Heat to the N.B.A. finals before they lost to the Los Angeles Lakers in six games.

Today, Butler is one of the league's most recognizable players and a global pitchman for a low-calorie beer. But he still finds a way to close himself off from the world around him whenever he plays basketball, and he is not all that dissimilar to many of his teammates who were overlooked until they found success in Miami. The Heat have nine undrafted players on their roster, including Vincent and Robinson.

Butler went to junior college. He was the final pick of the first round of the 2011 N.B.A. draft. Even this season, he was not selected as an All-Star (which, in hindsight, was probably an oversight). The veteran guard Kyle Lowry has said Butler is one of the most unselfish stars he has played with.

"He is us, and we are him," Spoelstra told reporters earlier in the postseason, as a way of explaining the synergy between Butler and the team around him. "Sometimes, the psychotic meets the psychotic."

Together, they are one win from the N.B.A. finals.

Anthony Retires After 19 Seasons and 28,289 Points

By SOPAN DEB

Carmelo Anthony, the former Knicks star and one of the greatest scorers in N.B.A. history, announced his retirement on Monday, calling the farewell after 19 seasons "bittersweet."

Anthony, 38, last played in April 2022 as a reserve for the Los Angeles Lakers and spent the final few seasons of his career in more limited roles.

"Now the time has come for me to say goodbye, to the court where I made my name, to the game that gave me purpose and pride," Anthony said in a glossily produced video posted to social networks on Monday. The video included career highlights, with the song "All That I Got Is You" by Ghostface Killah featuring Mary J. Blige in the background.

Anthony said he was "excited about what the future holds."

The Denver Nuggets drafted Anthony third overall out of Syracuse in 2003 after he led the school to a Division I N.C.A.A. national championship. Anthony might have been drafted higher if not for a player he would form a close friendship with: LeBron James, who went first overall to Cleveland.

Anthony immediately demonstrated his prowess for scoring. His elite footwork, burly physique and quick release on his jumper from anywhere on the court made him difficult to guard. Paul Pierce, the Hall of Famer, said this year that he would have rather guarded Kobe Bryant or James than Anthony.

Anthony led the Nuggets to the playoffs in his rookie year. He jab-stepped, up-faked and posted up his way to 10 All-Star Games and six All-N.B.A. teams. Anthony ended his career with 28,289 total points — good for ninth in N.B.A. history. He also won three Olympic gold medals and one bronze.

Many Knicks fans are particularly fond of Anthony, who was born in Brooklyn and pressured the Nuggets to trade him to New York in 2011 so he could team up with a fellow All-Star, Amar'e Stoudemire. The move gave the fan base some optimism after a decade of incompetence from the front office.

The partnership never fully bore fruit, thanks mainly to injuries to Stoudemire. But Anthony did provide memorable performances at Madison Square Garden, including a game in 2014 in which he scored 62 points, a franchise record. Anthony also led the Knicks to one of their only playoff series wins of the century, in 2013 against the Boston Celtics.

All told, Anthony played for six teams: the Nuggets, Knicks, Oklahoma City Thunder, Houston Rockets, Portland Trail Blazers and Lakers.

Anthony's career had several speed bumps.

He developed a reputation for lax defense and hogging the ball. His former Nuggets coach, George Karl, wrote in his 2017 memoir that Anthony "only played hard on one side of the ball." And while Anthony's teams reliably made the playoffs, he made it as far as the conference finals only once, in 2009 with the Nuggets.

Like many All-Stars before him, Anthony struggled to adjust to a drop-off in his game as he entered the back half of his career. After the Knicks traded him to Oklahoma City before the 2017-18 season, he appeared to have the best chance of his career to win a championship because he was teaming up with Paul George and Russell Westbrook, perennial All-Stars. But he scoffed at the idea of coming off the bench, and many fans blamed him when the team fizzled out early in the playoffs.

Six All-N.B.A. teams, 10 All-Star Games and four Olympic medals.

Soon, Anthony's career was hanging in the balance. He appeared in just 10 games for Houston in the 2018-19 season before he was sidelined and later traded to Chicago, though he never played in any games for the Bulls and was quickly waived. He revitalized his career in Portland over the next two seasons by accepting the bench role that he had laughed at in Oklahoma City. He ended his career playing next to James in Los Angeles.

Off the court, Anthony became increasingly outspoken on social issues, including police violence, after appearing in a homemade video titled "Stop Snitching" early in his career. The video discouraged people from talking to the police about crimes.

After George Floyd was murdered by a police officer in 2020, Anthony formed a philanthropic investment fund with Chris Paul and Dwyane Wade to invest in communities of color, as well as to push for causes like changes to the criminal justice system.

In his retirement video, Anthony said that he did not believe his legacy to be his on-court feats because his "story has always been more than basketball."

"My legacy? My son," Anthony said, addressing his teenage son, Kiyan Anthony. He added: "Chase your dreams. Let nothing hold you back. Let nothing intervene. My legacy now and forever lives on through you."

SUZY ALLMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Carmelo Anthony with the Knicks in 2012. Now 38, he is ninth on the N.B.A.'s career scoring list.

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PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that, in accordance with applicable provisions of the Uniform Commercial Code as enacted in New York, SP Office Funding, L.P. ("Secured Party") will sell all of the limited liability company interests (the "Collateral") held by Office Tech LLC in and to Office at Southport LLC (the "Pledged Entity") to the highest qualified bidder at a public sale. The public sale will take place beginning at 2:00 p.m. Eastern Standard Time (New York) on June 2, 2023, both in person and remotely outside the New York Supreme Court located at 60 Centre Street New York, New York 10007, with access afforded in person and remotely via Zoom or other web-based video conferencing and/or telephonic conferencing program selected by Secured Party. Remote log in credentials will be provided to registered bidders. Secured Party's understanding is that the principal asset of Office at Southport LLC is the real property located at 1101, 1103 and 1107 Lake Washington Boulevard North, Renton, WA 98056 commonly known as Southport Office Park. The Collateral will be sold to the highest qualified bidder; provided, however, that Secured Party reserves the right to cancel the sale in its entirety, or to adjourn the sale to a future date by announcement made at the time and place scheduled for the public sale. The Collateral will be sold as a single lot, and will not be divided or sold in any lesser amounts. Interested parties who intend to bid on the above Collateral must contact Brock Cannon of Newmark Knight Frank at (212) 372-2066, brock.cannon@nmrk.com to receive the Terms of Public Sale and bidding instructions. Upon execution of a standard non-disclosure agreement, additional documentation and information will be made available. Interested parties who do not contact the Secured Party and qualify prior to the public sale will not be permitted to enter a bid or participate at the public sale either in person or remotely.

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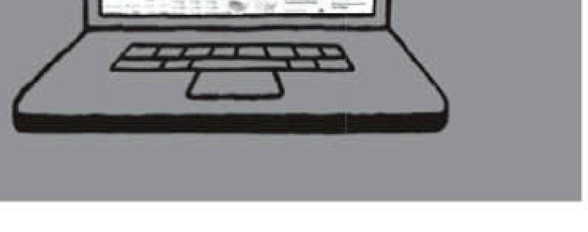


MARSHAL/ SHERIFF SALES
3650

MARSHAL EXECUTION SALE
PUBLIC AUCTION
RE: Parking Violations Vs Various Judgment Debtors I Will Sell
At Public Auction For
City Marshal Martin Bienstock
Or Any Other Marshal
For Marshal Alfred E. Locascio
By Arthur Vigar Auctioneer
On Thursday, May 25, 2023
At 10:00 AM At Five J's Towing
4825 Baldwin Street, Bronx, N.Y., 10470
All R/T/I in & to the Following Vehicles:
02 TOYOTA 4T1BE32K62U558288
11CHEVR 1GNKVJED4BJ132405
05 HONDA 5FNYF18515B060580
17 BMW WBA4F9C31HG812398
03 FORD 2FTRX18W23CA96891
03 TOYOTA 2T1BR32E83C134340
07 MAZDA JM1BK324371756396
04 PORSCHE WP1AA29P64LA20270
12 NISSAN 1N4AL2AP4CC145196
09 GMC 1GKET53M192116905
00 SUBARU JF1SF6558YH712967
09 BMW 5UXFE43509L264534
12 DODGE 2C4RDGBG7CR220082
04 HONDA 1HGCM665X4A048372
06 TOYOTA JTDKB20U767514123
09 TOYOTA 1NXBU40EX9Z141269
04 LINCOLN 1LNHM81W54Y601612
11CHEVR 2GNALDEC2B1278564
04CHEVR 1GCEK19T54E101000
18 HONDA 1HGCV1F17JA056177
Following Vehicles Sold With Liens
19 INFINITI 3PCAJ5M37KF139758
17 NISSAN JN8AT2MV7HW019896
15 KIA 5XXGN4A70FG460379
18 NISSAN 1N4AL3AP1JC185920
15 JEEP 1C4RJFBG9FC650633
13CHRYSLER 2C4RC1CG3DR535395
09 BMW 5UXFE43579L265647
15 JEEP 1C4PJMCS9FW686741
Following Vehicles Sold As Salvage107
07 TOYOTA 4T1CE30P87U760107
CASH ONLY. Inspect ½ Hr Prior to Sale
City Marshal Martin Bienstock
Badge#75
City Marshal Alfred E. Locascio
Badge #33
Phone (718) 904-9200

MARSHAL EXECUTION SALE
PUBLIC AUCTION
RE: Parking Violations Vs Various Judgment Debtors I Will Sell
At Public Auction For
City Marshal Martin Bienstock
Or Any Other City Marshal
By Arthur Vigar Auctioneer
On Thursday, May 25, 2023
At 10:00 AM At Five J's Towing
4825 Baldwin Street, Bronx, N.Y.,10470
All R/T/I in & to the Following Vehicles:
11 CHRYSL 1C3BC2FG8BN581256
10 DODGE 2A4RR5D1XAR178271
01 ACURA 19UUA566X1A034743
04 HONDA 5FNRL18594B079034
97 GMC 1GTGC33R7VF002818
03 FORD 1FMRU15W63LA57459
02 FORD 1FTNE24282HB09325
98 HONDA 1HGCG5643WA047754
14 FORD 1FTFX1CF4EKG33835
08 NISSAN 5N1BV28U18N121594
12 KIA KNAFU5A22C5638203
09 SUBARU JF1GH60659H808623
04 FORD 1FMYU93184KB35524
01 DODGE 1B4HS28NX1F531498
08 BMW WBAWL735X8PX55934
08 HONDA 1HGCP36848A005751
11 BMW WBAFU7C53BDU55495
06 TOYOTA JTDBR32E860086627
05 HONDA 2HGES26885H618762
10 MAZDA JM3ER2WM3A0306930
Following Vehicles Sold With Liens
18 KIA 5XXGT4L38JG258625
06 NISSAN 1N4AL11DX6C253097
13 FORD 1FM5K7B85DGB29985
13 BMW WBAKF9C59DE672678
22 JEEP 1C4HJXEG4NW165519
16 KIA KNDPBCAC1G7874569
97 HONDA JHLRD1854VC038938
18 INFINITI JN1EV7AR3JM611294
18 TOYOTA JTNB11HK5J3026008
12 HYUNDAI KMHTC6AD9CU067861
17 MAZDA JM1GL1X5XH1144254
21 MITSUB ML32AUHJXMH008868
06 VOLKSWN 3VWXJ71K66M703061
15 HONDA 19XFB2F57FE705560
12 ACURA 2HNYB1H4XCH500669
14 JEEP 1C4RJFAG1EC421704
Following Vehicles Sold As Salvage
09 BMW WBANV13549C152652
14 HONDA 5FNRL5H65EB004204
CASH ONLY Inspect ½ Hr Prior to Sale
City Marshal Martin Bienstock
Badge#75 Phone(718) 279-3774

James de Jongh, 80, Playwright Who Told Stories of Slavery, Dies

By NEIL GENZLINGER

James de Jongh, a scholar and playwright best known for fashioning oral histories left by formerly enslaved people in the 1930s into "Do Lord Remember Me," a 1978 stage work that painted an unflinching picture of the human cost of slavery, died on May 5 in the Bronx. He was 80.

Robert deJongh Jr., a nephew, said the cause was cardiac arrest.

Professor de Jongh was a longtime member of the English department faculty at City College and the City University of New York Graduate Center, where he specialized in African American literature and the literatures of the African diaspora. But briefly in his early career he had been an actor, and he continued to maintain an interest in the theater. In 1975, together with Carles Cleveland, he wrote his first play — "Hail Hail the Gangs!" — about a Black teenager who joins a Harlem gang.

"I wanted to go in a completely different direction for the second play," he told the public-access cable channel Manhattan Neighborhood Network in a recent interview.

He was drawn to a book called "The Negro in Virginia," a collection of interviews with formerly enslaved people started by the Federal Writers' Project, part of the Works Progress Administration under the New Deal, and completed in 1940 by the Virginia Writers' Project. At first, he said, his idea was to construct a fictional story using that material as background, but as he delved further into archives of interviews at the Smithsonian Institution and elsewhere, his thinking changed.

"Many of them were quite eloquent, were quite moving, were quite touching, and some of them were in, really, the voices of the people themselves," he said. "In other words, the interviewers had actually recorded word for word, rather than simply summarizing the content of what they said. And those words were striking."

He realized that he could create a play made primarily of the recollections of the men and women

The memories of former slaves were used to create 'Do Lord Remember Me.'

who had experienced slavery firsthand, augmented by the words of Nat Turner, the leader of an 1831 slave rebellion, and by some gospel and work songs. The result was "Do Lord Remember Me," which premiered in 1978 at the New Federal Theater on East Third Street in Manhattan, with a cast that included Frances Foster, a leading actress of the day.

"The play, strongly felt and single-minded, has an impact far greater than one would receive from reading historical documents," Mel Gussow wrote in his review for The New York Times. "The seven actors, portraying slave owners as well as slaves, transport us, showing us the auction block in our nation's past — when people were a commodity for speculation — linking arms and embracing a collective consciousness."

A revised version was staged in 1982 at the American Place Theater in Midtown, with a cast that included Ebony Jo-Ann and Glynn Turman. In a fresh review, Mr. Gussow called it "a moving evocation of shared servitude."

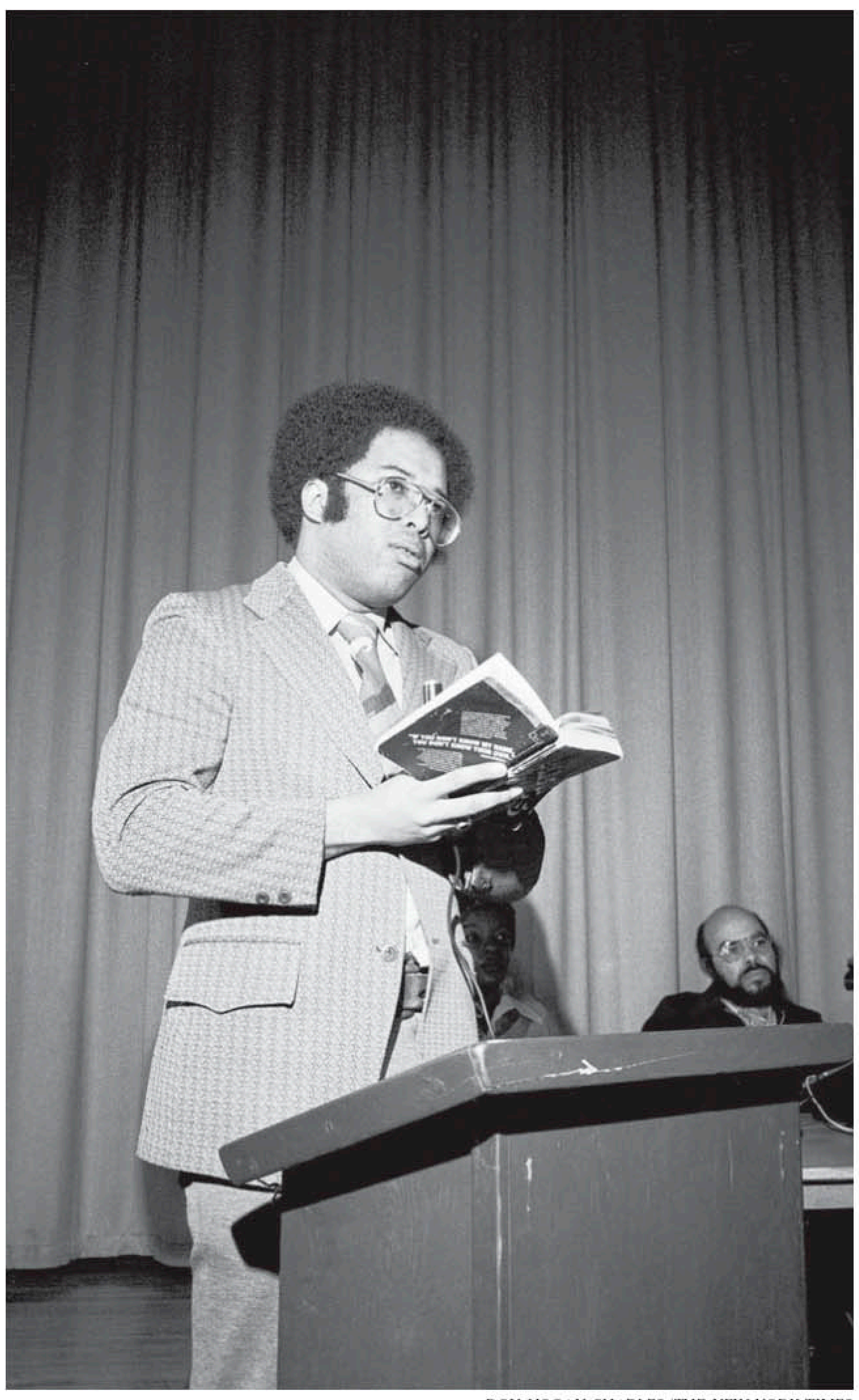
The play, which has been restaged a number of times over the decades, has dashes of humor and a theme of triumphing over adversity. But it is also blunt in its language and its depiction of the cruelties of slavery, the kind of historical realism that is being erased from educational curriculums in some schools and libraries today. In one scene, a woman shares the back story of her facial disfigurement: As a child, she was punished for taking a peppermint stick by having her head placed beneath the rocker of a rocking chair and crushed.

In the interview with Manhattan Neighborhood Network, Professor de Jongh said that although he was not a particularly religious man, he saw creating the play as a sort of calling.

"Somehow, I felt I had a task," he said, "and the task had found me."

James Laurence de Jongh was born on Sept. 23, 1942, in Charlotte Amalie on the island of St. Thomas, in the U.S. Virgin Islands. His father, Percy, was the commissioner of finance for the government of the Virgin Islands, and his mother, Mavis E. (Bentlage) de Jongh, was an assistant director for the U.S. Customs Service and ran a poultry farm and plant store.

Professor de Jongh attended Saints Peter & Paul Catholic School on St. Thomas and then Williams College in Massachusetts, where he appeared in theatrical productions and earned a bachelor's degree in 1964. He received a master's degree from Yale in 1967 and a Ph.D. from New York University in 1983.



DON HOGAN CHARLES/THE NEW YORK TIMES

James de Jongh at a 1973 symposium. He specialized in African American literature and the literatures of the African diaspora.

Professor de Jongh continued to act for a time after his days at Williams College, but teaching was his vocation beginning in 1969, when he spent a year as an instructor at Rutgers University. The next year he joined the CUNY faculty; he remained there for decades and added the Graduate Center to his portfolio in 1990. He took emeritus status in 2011.

BERT ANDREWS, VIA THE NEW FEDERAL THEATER

Ebony Jo-Ann and Glynn Turman in a staging of "Do Lord Remember Me" in 1982.

Professor de Jongh wrote numerous academic articles on Black theater, the art scene in Harlem and related subjects, and in 1990 he published a scholarly book, "Vicious Modernism: Black Harlem and the Literary Imagination." He also served on the board of the New Federal Theater, whose current artistic director, Elizabeth Van Dyke, called him "a quiet, gracious powerhouse."

Professor de Jongh, who lived in the Bronx, leaves no immediate survivors.

The 1982 production of "Do Lord Remember Me" was also presented to inmates at Rikers Island — according to news accounts, it was the first complete professional production staged at the prison. Professor de Jongh attended and found the inmates more boisterous than traditional theatergoers.

"There was an element of risk in the entire situation," he told The Times that year. "The audience reacted with anger as well as humor. It was not just a play about remembering — their own freedom was circumscribed."

Helmut Berger, 78, Actor and Muse to the Italian Neorealist Director Visconti

By RICHARD SANDOMIR

Helmut Berger, a handsome Austrian movie star who was best known for appearing in three feature films by the Italian neorealist director Luchino Visconti, his lover for a dozen years, died on Thursday at his home in Salzburg. He was 78.

His death was announced by his agent, Helmut Werner, who did not give a cause.

"Many years ago," Mr. Werner said in a statement, "Helmut

A jet-setting movie star of European arthouse cinema in the 1960s and '70s.

Berger told me, 'I have lived three lives. And in four languages! Je ne regrette rien.' "

Mr. Berger was studying Italian in Perugia in 1964 when a friend introduced him to Mr. Visconti, who was on location directing a film starring Claudia Cardinale.

"I was there watching, I was fascinated," he told the website Europe of Cultures in 1988. "I wanted to see how they shot a film."

They began a relationship soon after that, personal as well as professional. Mr. Visconti cast Mr. Berger in "The Damned" (1969), the story of a German steel family, inspired by the Krupps, in the early years of the Third Reich.

As Martin, the grandson of the family's patriarch, Mr. Berger imitates Marlene Dietrich in full costume during a party for his grandfather, which ends with word of a fire at the Reichstag. Martin later molests younger relatives and rapes his mother (Ingrid Thulin).

Ann Guarino, reviewing the movie for The Daily News in New York, said Mr. Berger personified the "outright perversion" of Nazism. Vincent Canby of The New York Times wrote that Mr. Berger "gives, I think, the performance of the year." He was nominated for a Golden Globe Award for most promising male newcomer.

Mr. Berger said that working with Mr. Visconti was like being onstage.

"You don't do 10-minute, five-minute takes but whole scenes, sometimes 20 minutes long," he told The Los Angeles Times in 1970. "He uses three cameras so you never know which one is on you. You get really into it, the whole atmosphere. He doesn't limit you, he wants you to be free."

He appeared in two more feature films directed by Mr. Visconti: "Ludwig" (1973), in which he played the mad 19th-century king of Bavaria, for which he won a David di Donatello Award, the Italian equivalent of the Oscar; and "Conversation Piece" (1974), which starred Burt Lancaster as an art historian who is living quietly in Rome when life is changed by a pushy marchesa and her gigolo lover, played by Mr. Berger.

KEYSTONE/HULTON ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES

Helmut Berger in 1974. He starred in "The Damned" (1969), set in 1930s Germany and directed by Luchino Visconti. It was a role one critic said personified "the outright perversion" of Nazism.

Mr. Canby had a radically different assessment of Mr. Berger's work this time, calling him "a lightweight" who "can function no more than as an ideogram for decadence."

By then, Mr. Berger and Mr. Visconti had been living together for some time.

"During the 12 years with Luchino Visconti, I was faithful," he told Gala magazine in 2012.

"But were you dating model Marisa Berenson at the time?" the magazine's interviewer asked.

"Of course, I'm bisexual," he said. "This is not a problem."

Mr. Berger fell into a deep depression after Mr. Visconti's death in 1976.

"At first I drank a lot, gluck-gluckgluck, and then the pills came," he told Gala. "My housekeeper wasn't supposed to come until 5 p.m. but happened to drop by at 10 a.m. and saved me."

Helmut Berger was born Helmut Steinberger on May 29, 1944, in Bad Ischl, Austria. His parents, Hedwig and Franz Steinberger, ran a hotel.

Fleeing his father, who he said was brutal to him, Helmut moved first to England and then to Italy, where he made his film debut in "The Witches" (1967), an anthology consisting of five stories, each with a different director. He played a hotel page in the segment directed by Mr. Visconti.

After a few other films, including "The Damned," Mr. Berger was cast in the title role of Massimo Dallamano's "Dorian Gray" (1970), which billed itself as a "modern allegory" based on Oscar Wilde's "The Picture of Dorian Gray," set in sexy present-day London. He was one of a reported 500 actors who auditioned.

Mr. Berger "gives a trance-like performance, looking simply beautiful — if you like the type," Ms. Guarino wrote.

He continued to work, mostly in Europe, until a few years ago. He notably played the sickly son of a rich Jewish family facing Fascism in Italy in Vittorio De Sica's "The Garden of the Finzi-Continis" (1970), which won the Oscar for best foreign-language film, and the playboy who seduces Elizabeth Taylor's character after she undergoes cosmetic surgery in "Ash Wednesday" (1973).

He also portrayed the millionaire boyfriend of Fallon Carrington (Pamela Sue Martin) on "Dynasty," the prime-time soap, in a story arc from 1983 to 1984, and the Vatican's chief accountant, who tries to swindle Michael Corleone, in "The Godfather III" (1990).

Information about survivors was not immediately available.

Mr. Berger was known for his jet-setting lifestyle, for being photographed by Andy Warhol, for being linked to women like Bianca Jagger, and for being called "the most beautiful man in the world" in the German media.

But when Gala interviewed him after the publication of the book "Helmut Berger: A Life in Pictures," he said he was no longer seeking his earlier life's social hustle and bustle.

"I've experienced everything," he said. "I don't feel like Helmut Berger, either; I'm not him. It's a stage name. My name is Helmut Steinberger. And that's what I'll be until I'm dead."

Linda Lewis, 72, Singer With Impressive Range And Musical Versatility

By ALEX WILLIAMS

Linda Lewis, a critically acclaimed soul singer and songwriter whose pyrotechnic voice propelled four Top 10 singles as a solo artist in her native Britain and led to work as a backup vocalist on acclaimed albums by stars like David Bowie, Cat Stevens and Rod Stewart, died on May 3 at her home in Waltham Abbey, outside London. She was 72.

Her sister Dee Lewis Clay confirmed the death but did not specify a cause.

Ms. Lewis drew raves for her soaring five-octave vocal range and impressed listeners with her genre-hopping instincts, drawing from folk, R&B, rock, reggae, pop and — with more than a nudge from label executives — disco.

She grew up studying Motown hits note by note, and her first single, "You Turned My Bitter Into Sweet" (1967), was a joyous uptempo number that sounded straight out of Berry Gordy's recording studio on West Grand Boulevard in Detroit.

After that she joined the Ferris Wheel, a rock and soul band that was popular on Britain's club circuit, before moving on to a solo career as a guitar-strumming singer-songwriter and signing with Reprise Records in 1971.

"That was a great time," she said in a 2007 interview with Record Collector magazine. "I was living in a sort of commune, and loads of people were popping in and out. Cat Stevens turned up a lot, as did Marc Bolan and Elton John. There was a lot of jamming going on there, some very creative vibes."

She ended up touring the world with Mr. Stevens (who later took the name Yusuf after converting to Islam), as well as lending her voice to albums like David Bowie's "Aladdin Sane" (1973) and Rod Stewart's "Blondes Have More Fun" (1978).

Her first solo album, "Say No More," released in 1971, failed to make a splash commercially. The next year she released "Lark," an album marked by a California breeziness that received strong reviews and included the song "Old Smokey," which the rapper Common sampled in his 2005 song "Go!" An American tour in 1973 helped create buzz.

But still, she needed a hit.

She found one that same year, with the buoyant, racy single "Rock a Doodle Doo," which hit No. 15 in Britain (although it failed to chart in the United States). It showed off her range with vocals that swung from husky lows to shimmering highs, to the point that the song could be mistaken for a duet.

JOHN MITCHELL/EVENING STANDARD/HULTON ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

CHRIS JACKSON/GETTY IMAGES

The singer-songwriter Linda Lewis in London in 1976, and performing at the Goodwood Festival in Chichester, England, in 2010.

In the mid-1970s, she signed with Arista Records, whose founder, Clive Davis, chose to package her as a disco diva like Gloria Gaynor. That decision paid dividends, at least commercially. Her 1975 single "It's in His Kiss," a Studio 54-ready spin on Betty Everett's 1964 hit "The Shoop Shoop Song (It's in His Kiss)," reached No. 6 in Britain, although it, too, barely made a splash in the United States.

But Ms. Lewis bristled at the forced career turn. "I didn't really stick to my guns, I'm afraid," she later said. "I saw myself as a singer-songwriter; they didn't."

Even so, the album with the single, "Not a Little Girl Anymore," hit No. 40 in Britain, with Rolling Stone noting that it brought "this multi-styled English artist into the mainstream of contemporary R&B."

A solo artist with four Top 10 hits who was also acclaimed as a backup vocalist.

By the 2000s, her music had crossed over to a new generation, as she sang on albums by Oasis, Basement Jaxx and Jamiroquai.

Linda Ann Fredericks was born on Sept. 27, 1950, in Custom House, an area in the docklands of East London. She was one of six children of Eddie Fredericks, a musician, and Lily Fredericks, who worked as a bus conductor and managed pubs. (It is unclear why the singer chose Lewis as her stage surname.)

Her mother had great ambitions for her as a performer and enrolled her in stage school, an experience on which Ms. Lewis did not look back fondly.

Her compass was set toward music. She got her first taste of the limelight in her early teens, when her mother took her to see John Lee Hooker perform at a club and pushed her to the stage to belt out, with the blues titan's permission, a rendition of Martha and the Vandellas' "Dancing in the Street."

In addition to Ms. Lewis Clay, she is survived by two other sisters, Shirley Lewis and Patsy Wildman; her brothers, Keith and Paul Fredericks; and her son, Jesse. Her three marriages ended in divorce.

While Ms. Lewis angled to escape stage school at the earliest possible opportunity, her flirtation with acting was not a complete waste. She made a brief appearance in the Tony Richardson film "A Taste of Honey" (1961). She also popped up as a screaming fan in the Beatles movie "A Hard Day's Night" (1964).

She was not the only future musical notable in the crowd of hysterical Beatlemaniacs. Phil Collins, in his schoolboy jacket and tie, was also on set as an extra. "Many years later, I bumped into him and said, 'Hey, we made a film together,'" Ms. Lewis told Record Collector. "He gave me a very funny look. I think he thought I was a nutter."

C. Boyden Gray, Lawyer for Republican Establishment, Dies at 80

By ALEX TRAUB

STEPHEN CROWLEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

C. Boyden Gray in 2014. He was able to stay in step with ideological shifts in the Republican Party.

BARRY THUMMA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mr. Gray, at rear, at the White House in 1990. His highest position in government was White House counsel for George H.W. Bush. He also served as ambassador to the European Union.

J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mr. Gray boosted young lawyers like the former attorney general William P. Barr and the future chief justice John G. Roberts Jr. He also led Clarence Thomas's bid to the Supreme Court.

C. Boyden Gray, who personified the conservative legal establishment as a lawyer involved in judicial appointments, policy, diplomacy or fund-raising for every Republican president since Ronald Reagan, died on Sunday at his home in the Georgetown section of Washington. He was 80.

The cause was heart failure, his daughter, Eliza Gray, said.

Mr. Gray reached his highest government position as White House counsel under President George H.W. Bush. He became such a trusted adviser that he was said to be able to stroll into the Oval Office whenever he liked, and he was a frequent subject of palace-intrigue news coverage about the Bush cabinet.

Yet Mr. Gray's influence stretched beyond any one job. Unlike other Washington conservatives of his generation, he kept in line with ideological shifts in the direction of the Republican Party.

In the Reagan administration, Mr. Gray, as counsel to Mr. Bush when he was vice president, managed an effort to undo federal regulations deemed to be burdensome.

In recent years he did legal work for Donald J. Trump after the 2020 election and, reflecting right-wing concerns over the reach of the federal bureaucracy, donated $3 million to fund an institute at the conservative law school of George Mason University in Virginia — the C. Boyden Gray Center for the Study of the Administrative State.

In 2012, a brief list of "some of the most establishment Republicans around" in The New York Times included figures like the billionaire donor David Koch, the former House majority leader Dick Armey and Mr. Gray. At his death, he was on the board of the Federalist Society, the group dedicated to spreading conservative jurists throughout the federal bench.

From the 1980s to the '90s, as Mr. Bush's longest-serving senior aide, Mr. Gray was sometimes accused of being a dilettante and a reckless policy freelancer, particularly in an ill-fated effort to change government regulations around affirmative action. But he could also claim credit for a number of conservative victories.

He promoted the careers of promising young conservative lawyers — including the two-time attorney general William P. Barr and the future Supreme Court justices John G. Roberts Jr. and Samuel A. Alito Jr. — and he facilitated the appointments of the two men Mr. Bush put on the Supreme Court, Clarence Thomas and David H. Souter.

Mr. Gray led the team of Bush advisers who selected Judge Thomas as a candidate to replace Justice Thurgood Marshall upon his retirement in 1991. When Anita Hill accused Judge Thomas of sexual harassment as her supervisor at work, Mr. Gray took charge of the administration's response by picking apart Ms. Hill's case, even if that meant attacking her character, The Times reported that year.

Judge Thomas was confirmed by a narrow 52-48 vote in the Senate. Judge Souter's appointment, in 1990, was less eventful, with the Senate voting to confirm him 90-9.

During the presidency of George W. Bush and in consultation with his chief political adviser, Karl Rove, Mr. Gray formed the Committee for Justice, which seeks to support conservative judicial nominees. He and the liberal civil rights lawyer Ralph G. Neas came to be seen as dueling "commanding generals" in a series of Supreme Court confirmation fights.

In 2005, when President Bush decided to appoint Judge Roberts as the next chief justice, Mr. Rove made sure that one of the first people to know was Mr. Gray.

A former Democrat who served every G.O.P. president since Ronald Reagan.

The next year, Mr. Gray was named U.S. ambassador to the European Union. Amid the strains of the Iraq War, he worked on agreements seeking to open European markets to American goods.

In 2015, Mr. Gray, long considered a loyalist of the Bush family and a notable host on the Washington social scene, held a $1,000-a-person fund-raiser for the presidential campaign of George W. Bush's brother Jeb Bush.

Three years later, Mr. Gray hosted a dinner for wealthy donors to President Trump, who had ridiculed Jeb Bush during the primaries leading up to the 2016 election. In December 2020, after Mr. Trump was defeated in his bid for re-election, Mr. Gray was recruited to be part of a Trump legal team.

In his public statements, Mr. Gray maintained the politesse of a traditional stalwart of the Grand Old Party. In April, he told The Times that he supported the Antonin Scalia Law School at George Mason, named after the conservative Supreme Court justice, because it "adds to the debate" as an alternative to more liberal law schools.

Clayland Boyden Gray, who went by Boyden and, to close friends, C.B., was born on Feb. 6, 1943, in Winston-Salem, N.C., to Gordon and Jane Boyden (Craige) Gray. His father was a national security adviser to President Dwight D. Eisenhower and president of the University of North Carolina.

Gordon Gray and Mr. Bush's father, Senator Prescott Bush, were golf buddies. Their sons played tennis together in what became known as Mr. Bush's "tennis cabinet."

Gordon Gray's father, Bowman, had earned a fortune as president and chairman of R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. To comply with ethics requirements as counsel to President Bush, Boyden resigned as chairman of his family's communications firm, Summit Communications Group, which The Times reported to be worth $500 million in 1989.

Boyden's mother died in his boyhood. His father then married Nancy Maguire, who was a homemaker. He grew up in Winston-Salem and Washington.

Mr. Gray studied history at Harvard College, graduated in 1964 and served in the Marine Corps Reserve. He graduated at the head of his class from the University of North Carolina's law school in 1968.

He then clerked for Chief Justice Earl Warren, a standard-bearer of liberalism, and considered himself a Democrat until the late 1970s. By then he was a corporate lawyer at Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, a prominent Washington firm. He said he became a Republican because he opposed the economic policies of President Jimmy Carter.

Mr. Gray married Carol Taylor in 1984, and they divorced a few years later. In addition to their daughter, Eliza, he is survived by two brothers, Bernard and Gordon, and two grandchildren.

Mr. Gray often gave the impression of being aloof or professorial. At 6-foot-6, he loomed above his peers; the Times columnist Maureen Dowd once described him as "bending like a parenthesis." A penchant for playing bridge with octogenarians earned him a spot on a list of Washington's "worst bachelors."

Yet his gentility also worked in his favor. Early in his political career, in 1983, a government official, quoted anonymously, accounted for Mr. Gray's success in an interview with The Times, saying: "Boyden Gray learned a long time ago that to get ahead in Washington, you've got to give your boss credit for the good news and take the blame for what doesn't work. And he's learned that lesson well."

Rick Wolff, 71, Player, Editor, Writer, Psychological Coach and Radio Host

By DANIEL E. SLOTNIK

Rick Wolff's résumé is about as long as a Major League roster, his disparate professions linked by an adoration of sports and a fascination with sports psychology.

He was a professional baseball player, a college baseball coach, an author of books about sports psychology and an editor and publisher of books by athletes like Tiger Woods (as well as business figures).

In the early 1990s, he became the psychological coach for the Cleveland baseball team now known as the Guardians, helping them rise from the American League basement to perennial pennant contenders. And for 25 years he was the host of "The Sports Edge," a show on the New York sports station WFAN dedicated to helping families navigate the increasingly competitive world of youth sports.

His last episode, which dealt with whether children were becoming less interested in youth sports, aired two weeks before he died on April 10 at his home in Armonk, N.Y., in Westchester County. He was 71. His son, John, said the cause was brain cancer.

Mr. Wolff began his quarter-century on WFAN after finishing his stint as Cleveland's roving psychological coach. Becoming a broadcaster was hereditary: His father, Bob Wolff, was a radio and television sportscaster for nearly eight decades, longer than anyone else, according to Guinness World Records.

Over hundreds of Sunday-morning episodes, Rick Wolff tackled weighty youth-sports topics like hazing, the impact of social media and the risk of concussions, as well as more lighthearted ones like Big League Chew bubble gum.

An adviser who helped revive Cleveland's baseball team.

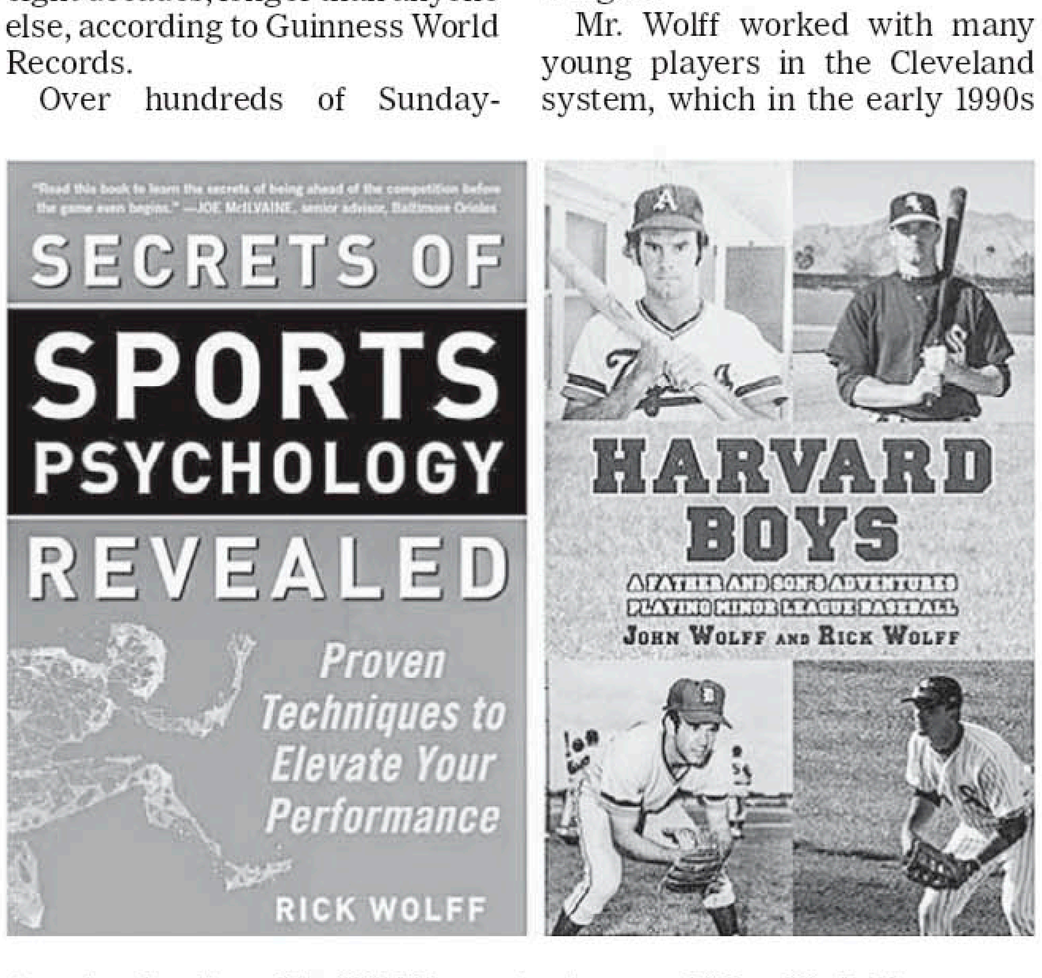
The bad behavior of overcompetitive parents and the mental health of young athletes were motifs. In an episode last year that served as a primer on sports psychology, Mr. Wolff said that sending children to compete without mentally preparing them was "like sending your kid to take a major test in school, but they really haven't studied or prepared for that exam."

His psychological insights were forged in the crucible of Major League Baseball.

He started with Cleveland in 1990, when the team was mired in one of the longest playoff droughts in Major League history — Cleveland had not made it to the postseason since 1954.

Cleveland was so notorious for losing that a fancifully woeful version of the team was at the heart of the 1989 movie comedy "Major League."

Mr. Wolff worked with many young players in the Cleveland system, which in the early 1990s included future stars like Albert Belle, Manny Ramirez and Jim Thome.



As a book editor, Mr. Wolff acquired several New York Times best sellers. He also wrote numerous books, including one on sports psychology and a memoir with his son, John Wolff.

He often traveled with Cleveland and its minor league teams and had a dedicated home phone line on which players could call him at any time. Whether they were dealing with a batting slump, pregame jitters or anger issues, he was there to hear them out.

His counseling approach involved visualization techniques, muscle memory and pushing players to face their failures. He had some unorthodox views; for instance, he maintained that setting overly ambitious goals could be paralyzing instead of motivating and that pregame anxiety could often be embraced as a normal part of sports.

Even though sports psychology was rare in baseball, Mr. Wolff said on his show last year, Cleveland's players "took the mental side of the game seriously" and within a few years were a "powerhouse in the American League."

The idea caught on, he added, and "these days it's the rare, rare sports team or professional or college organization that doesn't have at least one sports psychologist on their staff."

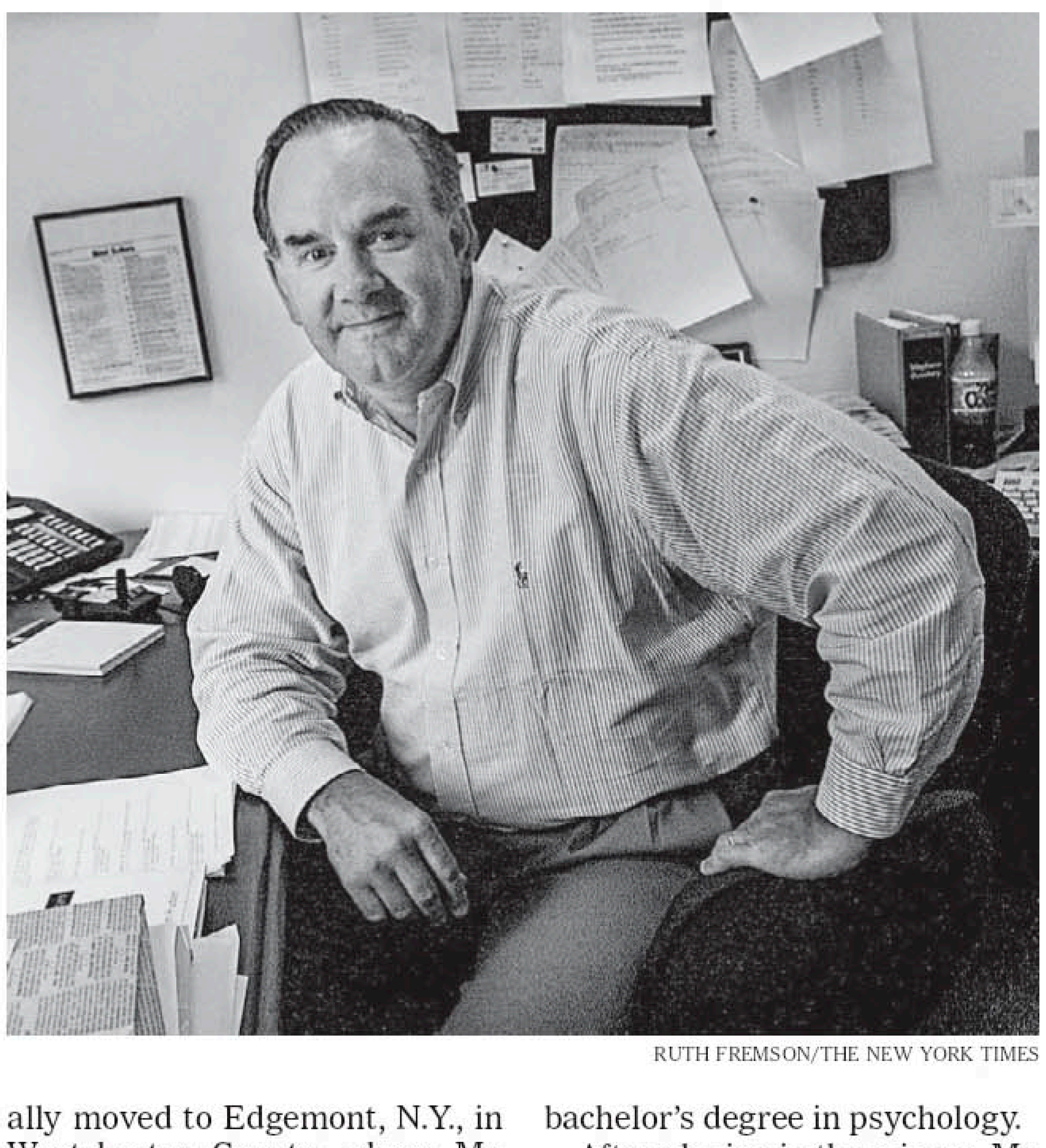
As an editor at various publishing houses, Mr. Wolff acquired a slew of New York Times best sellers, including Robert Kiyosaki's "Rich Dad Poor Dad" (1997) and the General Electric chief executive Jack Welch's "Jack: Straight From the Gut" (2001). He also acquired a number of sports books, including Roger Angell's "A Pitcher's Story: Innings With David Cone" and Tiger Woods's "How I Play Golf."

As an author, he wrote, among other books, "Secrets of Sports Psychology Revealed: Proven Techniques to Elevate Your Performance" (2018) and "Harvard Boys: A Father and Son's Adventure Playing Minor League Baseball" (2007), which he wrote with John Wolff.

Beginning in 1988, he also had a stint as editor of "The Baseball Encyclopedia," when he was with the publisher Macmillan.

Richard Hugh Wolff was born in Washington on July 14, 1951. His mother, Jane (Hoy) Wolff, was a Navy nurse who became a homemaker. His father was the broadcasting voice of the Washington Senators at the time.

In 1961, the Senators moved to Minnesota, where they became the Twins, and the Wolffs eventually moved to Edgemont, N.Y., in Westchester County, where Mr. Wolff grew up. He played baseball and football at Edgemont High School, graduating in 1969, and attended Harvard.



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Rick Wolff in 2001, when he was the host of "The Sports Edge" on WFAN. The radio program ran for 25 years.

As an infielder playing for Harvard, he began looking for a mental edge but found little information about sports psychology. In time he adapted the visualization techniques advanced by the surgeon Maxwell Maltz in his book "Psycho-Cybernetics."

The Detroit Tigers picked Mr. Wolff late in the 1972 amateur draft, and he played in their minor league system in 1973 and 1974 while completing his Harvard bachelor's degree in psychology.

After playing in the minors, Mr. Wolff became editor in chief at the Alexander Hamilton Institute, a now defunct organization that published educational materials on business and management. He continued to hold that job after he became head baseball coach for Mercy College in Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., in 1978. He coached there until 1985, leading the team to a 114-81-3 record.

In 1982, he married Patricia Varvaro, who survives him. In addition to her and his son, he is survived by two daughters, Alyssa Wolff and Samantha O'Connor; a brother, Dr. Robert Wolff; a sister, Margy Clark; and three grandchildren.

Mr. Wolff earned a master's degree in psychology from Long Island University in 1985. His book "The Psychology of Winning Baseball: A Coach's Handbook" (1986) caught the eye of Harvey Dorfman, a psychological coach for the Oakland A's and one of the first in the majors. He called Mr. Wolff and told him that other teams were looking for psychologists. After speaking to several teams, Mr. Wolff chose Cleveland.

He bonded with Cleveland players by wearing a team uniform and practicing with them.

At the time, his playing days were more recent than the young players he counseled might have thought — just the year before. He had played three games (and had four hits in seven at-bats) with the South Bend (Ind.) White Sox of the Midwest League in 1989, when he was 38, an experience he wrote about for Sports Illustrated.

His South Bend teammates had treated him gingerly, until he fielded a grounder and hit a dribbler to short in their first game together. He wrote that after the game one pitcher asked him, "Tell us, Rick, you must have known him, what kind of player was Babe Ruth?"

With that bit of ribbing, Mr. Wolff knew he had made it. "I had become the target of some old-fashioned needling — the ultimate acceptance in baseball."

Deaths

Holbrook, David
Phillips, Leslie
Reichman, Lora
Sokoloff, Harold

HOLBROOK—David D.
The Board and staff of TDF mourn the loss of one of our longest serving trustees, David Holbrook. David served on TDF's Board from 1981-2014. He led the non-profit as Chair from 1990-97 and again from 2005-08. Under his leadership as Chair in the 1990's, TDF created award winning school programs that have introduced live performance to hundreds of thousands of New York City public school students. David's tenure as Chair in 2005-08 included the construction and opening of the iconic TKTS by TDF booth under the red steps. He is sorely missed.
H. Gwen Marcus, Chair;
Victoria Bailey,
Executive Director

PHILLIPS—Leslie Juliette.
Cherished mother, daughter, sister, aunt, and friend, passed away at 67 following a valiant battle with pancreatic cancer. After graduating from Stanford University, she entered the journalism field to work for UPI and soon joined USA Today as a congressional and political correspondent with a particular interest in women and politics. She covered four presidential campaigns before carrying her love of politics and journalism forward as Director of Communications for the U.S. Committee on Homeland Security for Senator Joe Lieberman where she led media strategy for the creation of the 9/11 Commission and passage of the Homeland Security Act. She later became Deputy Communications Director for the Constitutional Accountability Center. She had a lifelong passion for women's rights, and lived life with integrity, curiosity and compassion, taking joy in the love from her close circle of friends and family during these past two difficult years. She is survived by her son Jack Phillips; her mother Barbara Phillips; her sisters Lisa and Nina Phillips; and nieces Olivia and Savannah Phillips Falk and Kate Hedbabny. She was predeceased by her father, Warren Phillips.

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED FROM WITHIN NYC TO 212-556-3900; OR OUTSIDE NYC TOLL FREE 1-800-458-5522; OR SENT BY EMAIL TO NYTIMES@CLASSIFIEDSPLUS.COM FOR THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS:
Until 4:00 PM the day before for Tuesday through Saturday editions, until 4:00 PM on Friday for Sunday's national edition, until 12:45 PM Saturday for Sunday's New York and late national editions, until 2:00 PM Sunday for Monday's editions. Photos must be submitted by noon the day prior to publication Tuesday through Friday.

REICHMAN—Lora,
died peacefully on May 11, 2023. The daughter of Max and Sophie Schneider, she was born in Brooklyn, NY. She was an incredible wife, mother, mother-in-law, grand mother, great-grandmother, daughter, sister, sister-in-law, aunt, friend and neighbor. Although she occasionally read obituaries you can best honor her memory if after reading this you immediately click on New York Times Cooking, her favorite section, choose a recipe and cook it with enormous amounts of love and enjoy it with the people you love.

SOKOLOFF—Harold L.
The Melanoma Research Alliance mourns the passing of Harold L. Sokoloff, father and father-in-law to our cherished friends Jon and Sheryl. We extend our deepest condolences to Harold's children Jon (Sheryl), Adam (Susan) and Rondi Frieder (David) and the entire family. May his memory always be a blessing.

In Memoriam

STORCH—George D.
Dec. 26, 1921-May 23, 2012
Survivor of the Holocaust. Eluded Nazi capture by escaping to Russia and Uzbekistan. Decorated and twice wounded Lieutenant, 1st Polish Army under Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky during World War II. In our thoughts and hearts every day for the past 11 years. Your guidance, humor and love are missed by your adoring family.
Oliver Storch & Family

FREEING TACO T***DAY

IN THE UNITED STATES PATENT AND TRADEMARK OFFICE
BEFORE THE TRADEMARK TRIAL AND APPEAL BOARD

In re Registration No.: 1572589
Mark: TACO TUESDAY
Issued: December 19, 1989

TACO BELL IP HOLDER, LLC,

Petitioner,

v.

SPICY SEASONINGS, LLC
(predecessor in interest:
TACO JOHN'S SEASONINGS
LIMITED PARTNERSHIP),

Registrant.

§ § § § § § § § § § § § § §

Cancellation No. ______________

PETITION FOR CANCELLATION

Petitioner Taco Bell IP Holder, LLC, a Delaware limited liability company, believes "Taco Tuesday" should be freely available to all who make, sell, eat, and celebrate tacos, and therefore petitions to cancel Registration No. 1572589 (the "Registration") for the "mark" TACO TUESDAY.

PREFACE

A. People like tacos on Tuesdays. They just do. It's even fun to say: "Taco Tuesday." Tacos have the unique ability to bring people together and bring joy to their lives on an otherwise mediocre day of the week. But since 1989, entities associated with Registrant have owned a federal trademark registration for "Taco Tuesday." Not cool.

B. Because of the Registration, Registrant is the *only* restaurant that has the presumptive right to use "Taco Tuesday." That's not right.

C. The Registration potentially subjects Taco Bell and anyone else who wants to share tacos with the world to the possibility of legal action or angry letters if they say "Taco Tuesday" without express permission from Registrant—simply for pursuing happiness on a Tuesday. This violates an American ideal: "the pursuit of happiness."

D. "Taco Tuesday" is a common phrase. Nobody should have exclusive rights in a common phrase. Can you imagine if we weren't allowed to say "what's up" or "brunch"? Chaos.

E. This Petition is brought because Taco Bell believes that tacos, just like the joy they bring, belong to everyone on any day. Ergo, "Taco Tuesday" should belong to everyone.

F. Taco Bell believes "Taco Tuesday" is critical to everyone's Tuesday. To deprive anyone of saying "Taco Tuesday"—be it Taco Bell or anyone who provides tacos to the world—is like depriving the world of sunshine itself.

G. Taco Bell supports everyone's right to celebrate, and say, "Taco Tuesday," no matter who they are. How can we tell our fans to Live Más if their favorite taco joints aren't even allowed to freely say "Taco Tuesday"? Anything else is *menos*.

H. Taco Bell seeks no damages; it simply seeks reason and common sense.

I. If one of us is not free to celebrate "Taco Tuesday," then none of us are free to celebrate "Taco Tuesday." A win for Taco Bell here is a win for all. When tacos win, we all win.

FREEING TACO T***DAY LIVE MÁS

Taco T***day shouldn't be trademarked. It is though—and we're trying to change that.

Taco Bell has filed a petition with the USPTO Trademark Trial and Appeal Board to cancel the trademark and liberate Taco Tuesday for all.

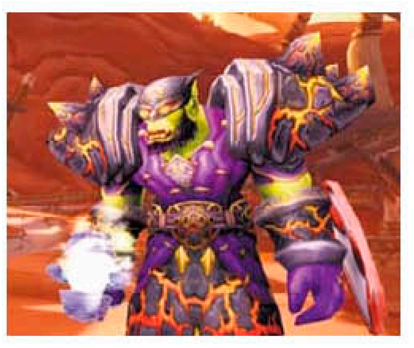
Support the liberation movement at
change.org/freeingtacotuesday

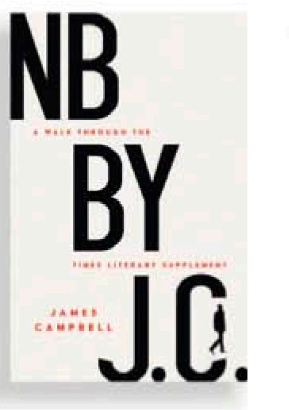
2 VIDEO GAMES

A tech shortcut to creating characters. BY SHANNON LIAO

3 OPERA REVIEW

Intensity both personal and cosmic. BY JOSHUA BARONE





2 BOOK REVIEW

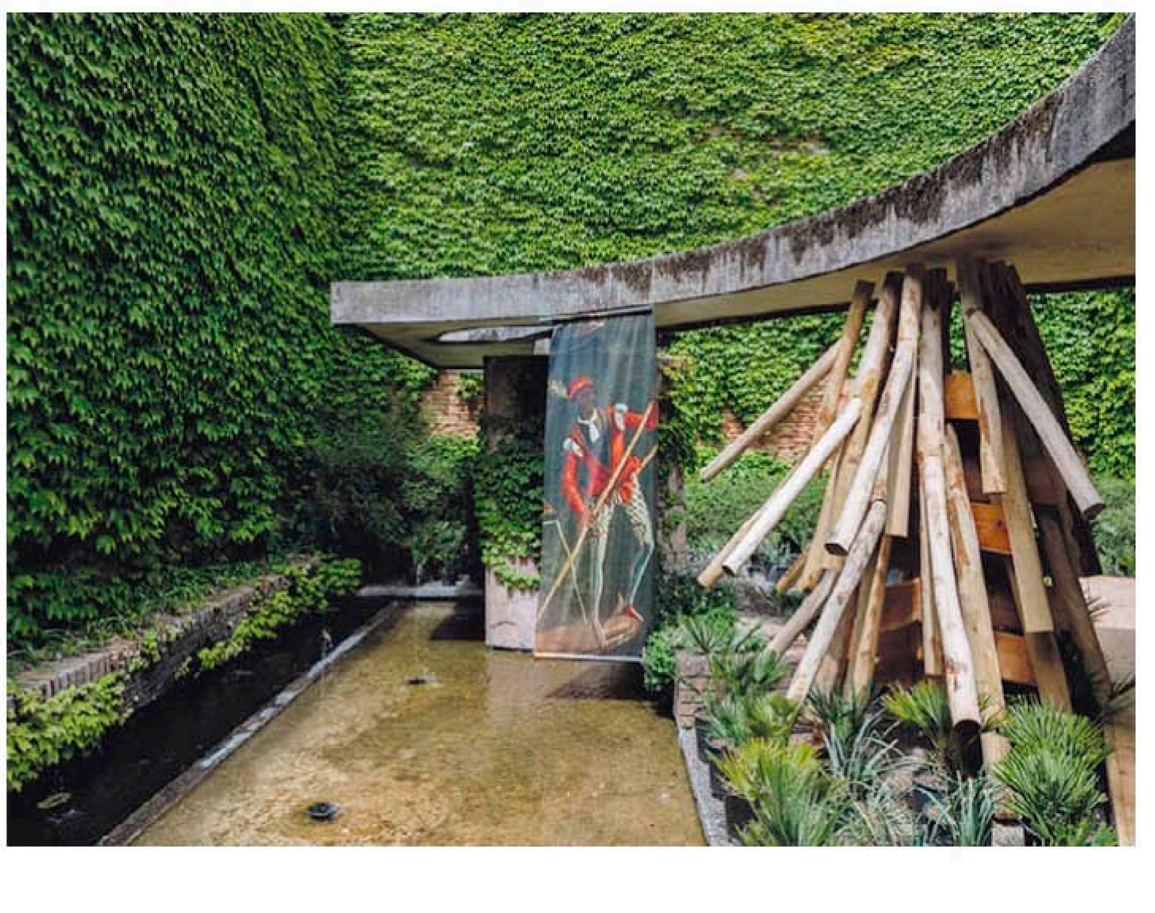
Taking on literary pomposity and preposterousness.

BY DWIGHT GARNER

CHRISTOPHER HAWTHORNE | ARCHITECTURE NOTEBOOK

Africa Meets What's Next In Venice

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MATTEO DE MAYDA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Lesley Lokko's nervy and elegant 'Laboratory of the Future' is the most ambitious and pointedly political Biennale in years.

VENICE — It is rare enough for a Venice Architecture Biennale, so often dominated by sleek new architecture and design-world celebrity, to confront fraught subjects like race, colonialism and climate change. Lesley Lokko's nervy, elegant edition, which opened to the public on Saturday, goes one step further, asserting that the three themes are inextricably connected in ways that have pressing implications for the profession.

"The Black body was Europe's first unit of energy," Lokko, a Scottish Ghanaian architect, academic and novelist, said during a tour of the exhibition last week. Through slave labor and colonial expansion, she argues, Western powers built empires whose imposing architecture — often neo-Classical in style and claiming to represent universal aesthetic values — was itself an expression of political control.

In this Biennale, officially the 18th International Architecture Exhibition, Lokko gives pride of place to two kinds of stories: those that allow Africa and the African diaspora to narrate that troubled history on its own terms and those that imagine how things could have turned out radically differently. The first group uses architecture as a mnemonic device to recall histories and traditional design practices; the second as a vehicle — a time-traveling spaceship — for a kind of joyous science fiction.

In the mnemonic camp is Isabella Gib-

CONTINUED ON PAGE C6

Top, a timber pavilion by Adjaye Associates. In the Ghanaian language Twi its title means "forest." Left, Hood Design Studio and Alma Du Solier teamed to create a South Carolina wetland.

Copyright Decision Reverberates

Warhol ruling could influence other high-profile cases.

By MATT STEVENS

For years, Andy Warhol and Richard Prince have been known as two of the art world's most famous copiers, boundary-pushing appropriators whose use of other people's images in their work has been scrutinized in court cases as the blurry line of copyright law is continually redrawn.

Last week, the Supreme Court resolved a major copyright dispute involving a Warhol that many experts thought would have a spillover effect on other cases, including a pair involving Prince that are currently playing themselves out in federal court in New York.

But in the end, the court's Warhol decision appeared to be fairly narrow, the experts said, as the justices did not so much weigh in on how much of another work an artist can copy, but ruled instead on what sort of use such a work can be put to.

Warhol, who died in 1987, had created a series of silk-screen portraits of the rock star Prince that were based on a photo-

CONTINUED ON PAGE C4

JESSE GREEN | THEATER REVIEW

An Arranged Marriage of Musical Styles

JULIETA CERVANTES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Salena Qureshi, center, as Aditi, in "Monsoon Wedding," which opened at St. Ann's Warehouse in Brooklyn.

Mira Nair's 2001 film becomes a song-filled pageant onstage.

IN MUSICALS, THE MARRIAGE of elements is everything. A story that's too thin will dissolve when mixed with the songs. A story that's too heavy won't let the songs lift off. To get the right fizzy blend, the balance must be perfect.

That is not yet the case with Mira Nair's "Monsoon Wedding," which opened Monday in an always busy, sometimes touching, but strangely mild production at St. Ann's Warehouse in Brooklyn. Its shambolic plot lines (drawn from Nair's 2001 film of the same name) and Indian-pop-meets-marching-band songs, though full of interest individually, fail to build on themselves or one another, leaving the intertwined tale of love and obligation to unravel as fast as it spins.

Monsoon Wedding
St. Ann's Warehouse

Not that the movie was a landmark of pith. The arranged marriage of the rich "South Delhi girl" Aditi Verma (played here by Salena Qureshi) and the U.S.-raised Hemant Rai (Deven Kolluri) was but one strand of a multifamily, multigenerational tale arranged in a riotous collage of small,

CONTINUED ON PAGE C5

A.I.'s Help Enlisted For Video Games

Generative technology is already involved in creating characters and dialogue.

By SHANNON LIAO

BLIZZARD ENTERTAINMENT

Intrigued by the potential that generative artificial intelligence holds for video game design, the studio Blizzard Entertainment has trained an image generator on its own hit titles. By feeding assets like the combative orcs of World of Warcraft, the macabre dungeons of Diablo and the vivacious heroes of Overwatch into the machine, Blizzard can effortlessly produce concept art for new ideas.

Because generative artificial intelligence creates art faster than any human can, studios like Blizzard, a division of Activision Blizzard, are hopeful that the technology can cut out some design and development drudgery and make the creation of video games more fun.

Blizzard's chief design officer, Allen Adham, told employees about the initiative last month in an email that was obtained by The New York Times. Its internal tool is called Blizzard Diffusion, a riff on Stable Diffusion, one of the popular image generators that enables anyone to turn text into art.

"Prepare to be amazed," Adham wrote, adding, "We are on the brink of a major evolution in how we build and manage our games."

Generative artificial intelligence, the technology behind tools like ChatGPT and Midjourney, uses considerable computing power to identify patterns in text or images and produce new content from the data.

Some researchers are wary of the technology, warning of copyright abuses, job displacement and its potential to help the spread of false information. But video game developers, already relying on artificial intelligence so that nonplayer characters can make humanlike decisions, believe that harnessing generative A.I. can speed up the creative process in a labor-intensive industry plagued by delays.

There is a gaming A.I. division at Microsoft, which makes the Xbox console, and Ubisoft has built a tool called Ghostwriter that could produce basic dialogue for games like Assassin's Creed. Several start-ups say their technology can make it easier to design the look of the nonplayer characters,

Blizzard Entertainment, the producer of World of Warcraft Classic, above, trains an image generator on its games to create concept art for new ones. The start-up Didimo uses a character generator to create supporting players like the ogre below.

Developers hope to speed up the process in a labor-intensive industry.

DIDIMO

known as NPCs, that give video game worlds heft.

Chris Lee, the former studio head of Halo Infinite at 343 Industries, said generative A.I. could improve game development by reducing the human toil required to make an enormous open-world game.

"Game developers have never been able to keep up with the demands of our audiences," said Lee, who is now the head of immersive technologies at Amazon Web Services.

Halo Infinite was supposed to be the flagship launch game for the Xbox Series X in 2020, but its graphics were derided by fans as flat and ugly after an eight-minute preview was released. The studio ultimately delayed the game for another year.

The game's developers were miserable, Lee said, because even working on placeholder encounters required slowly moving pixels frame by frame. "To load this giant world, it's painful, it's like specialized data entry," he said.

Generative A.I. could also streamline quality assurance testing. At a recent conference for game developers, Kate Rayner, technical director for the Coalition, the studio behind Gears of War, talked about how A.I. could be used to catch bugs and glitches so players would see fewer crashes on launch day.

Many of the promises of generative A.I. are speculative, with Blizzard already abandoning machine-learning technology it had patented to create environmental textures like stone and brick.

Andrew Guerrero, Blizzard's vice president of global insights, said the tool was taking up too much artist time to be effective. But he said another A.I. tool was helping fit cosmetic headpieces to player models in World of Warcraft.

"The goal is to remove a repetitive and manual process and enable artists to spend more time on creativity," Guerrero said in a statement. "Our goal with A.I. has been, and will continue to be, to try to make creative work easier."

The internal email about Blizzard Diffusion said it was being used to help generate concept art for game environments as well as characters and their outfits. It also mentioned possible tools for "autonomous, intelligent, in-game NPCs," "procedurally assisted level design" and A.I.-assisted "voice cloning," "game coding" and "anti-toxicity."

Ghostwriter, Ubisoft's A.I. dialogue tool, was a request by writers who faced the daunting and sometimes tedious task of filling open-world games with more than 100,000 lines of dialogue, the company said.

Many of those lines are the background chatter of characters that help simulate a living world; one mundane interaction may require a dozen or more variations.

In a promotional video for Ghostwriter, an employee begins with the prompt "I used to be an adventurer like you" (a nod to an infamous line in Skyrim) and hones several suggestions by the A.I., including "I was once the most talented and famous adventurer in the land" and "I remember when I was young and strong."

These simple lines of dialogue have been a way for people to start careers in video game writing, and developers argued on social media that automating these tasks could threaten such jobs. Simon Johnson, an economist at the M.I.T. Sloan School of Management who has a new book about the impact of automation, said it was a bad idea for tech companies to invent algorithms that mimic humans.

"We should be focused on machines that help humans improve human capabilities, rather than displacing people," he said.

Yves Jacquier, the executive director of Ubisoft La Forge, the research and development team responsible for Ghostwriter, said there had been a similar but unfounded fear that video game animators would be replaced when motion capture was introduced decades ago.

"While the future may involve more technology, it doesn't take away the human in the loop," Jacquier said in a statement. "Artists, writers and coders will always be at the heart of the development process, and while A.I. can now do a better job at assisting creators in their workflow, it's the artistic vision and perspective of individuals that are essential in the creation of games."

Another inescapable concern about A.I.-produced content is copyright. In one high-profile lawsuit, Getty Images has accused Stable Diffusion of scraping 12 million images from its photo database.

Employees of Activision Blizzard received an email this month from Michael Vance, its chief technology officer, that warned them not to use the company's intellectual property with external image generators. (Microsoft is looking to purchase Activision for nearly $70 billion, but regulators want to block the deal.)

"These new tools come with new and unknown risks, and we will proceed carefully to avoid pitfalls," Vance wrote in the email, which was obtained by The Times.

Some Activision Blizzard employees said the company's A.I. tools have not always delivered as promised, pointing to those that struggled to catch bugs or interact properly with game environments.

"Leadership's focus on A.I. doesn't feel like it is solving a problem that individual contributors care about," said Valentine Powell, a former World of Warcraft engineer who left Blizzard last August. "It feels like ignoring their problems and focusing on hype words that they think will sound impressive to shareholders."

Smaller video game studios that do not have the resources to create generative A.I. tools are turning to start-ups for help.

Scenario, which raised $6 million in seed funding in January, creates image databases to turn text prompts into assets — such as a lizard in a spacesuit — that can then be incorporated into games.

Its image generator is being used by a few small games. In tests by The Times, it sometimes spit out animated characters with unrealistic-looking hands, a common weakness for image generators.

Another start-up, Didimo, said that Soleil Game Studios, which makes fighting games based on properties like Naruto and Samurai Jack, had created hundreds of nonplayer characters using its A.I.-powered generator.

"We just automated that process, allowing them to remove the mundane jobs, because it just gets boring after a while," Sean Cooper, a Didimo developer, said.

Video games can take years to create, and it is early enough in the hype cycle that few published games have used generative A.I. But some companies like Niantic, the developer behind Pokémon Go, have experimented with the tools to create marketing materials, for instance writing a news release in Dr. Seuss's tone of voice.

Niantic also used ChatGPT while working on Peridot, a new augmented reality game that leverages '90s nostalgia for digital pets.

Kellee Santiago, Niantic's head of production, said that it was expensive to fill a room with creative people, and that the technology condensed the time needed to generate ideas.

"I, for one, am happy to have the first six hours of a brainstorm taken care of for me," she said.

DWIGHT GARNER | BOOKS OF THE TIMES

The Literary World, Scrutinized and Skewered

No one is safe in the collected musings of an editor at an august London publication.

IF YOU ARE A SUBSCRIBER to the Times Literary Supplement, or TLS, that august literary review out of London, you know that its good, gray issues roll in every week, more quickly than it is possible to keep up.

Determined not to become a hoarder, Lydia Davis arrived at a solution to this abundance. In her 2014 book of stories, "Can't and Won't," there is a cheerful piece called "How I Read as Quickly as Possible Through My Back Issues of the TLS." Davis goes by topic:

Interested in:
the social value of altruism
the building of the Pont Neuf
the history of daguerreotypes

and

Not interested in:
a cultural history of the accordion in America.

Davis didn't mention it, but one part of the TLS no one skips, in my experience, is the NB column, which runs inside the back cover. (NB = nota bene, Latin for "note well.") The column is a miscellany: three or four items, irreverent and journalistic in tone. It's a small treat for readers who make it to the end.

From 1997 to 2020, its golden age, the column was signed J.C. This correspondent has officially been outed as James Campbell, a biographer of James Baldwin and a longtime editor at the magazine. He was a good steward of the column, and his best material has been collected now in "NB by J.C.: A Walk Through the Times Literary Supplement."

His NB was not a gossip column, Campbell explains. He hoped never to see the words "Martin" and "Amis" in proximity, and he mostly lived up to that vow. Instead, his droll NB skewered pomposity in its many forms.

He liked to bestow mock awards. He disliked academic gibberish, so he regularly handed out an Incomprehensibility Prize. He also invented and dispensed the Jean-Paul Sartre Prize for Prize Refusal. (Sartre turned down the Nobel in 1964.) New recipients seemed to surface every few months.

Late-period Maya Angelou was a target, especially when she teamed with Hallmark, the greeting card company. One NB column began: "The Preposterousness of Maya Angelou: An inexhaustible series." Colum McCann, Benjamin Kunkel, Prince Charles and Jean-Michel Basquiat were also hazed for moments of preposterousness.

Campbell wrote about translations, and book titles, and clichés, and publicity campaigns, and the timidity of reviewers. When Cormac McCarthy's manual typewriter sold at auction in 2009, the awe-struck book dealer Glenn Horowitz remarked that it was "as if Mount Rushmore was carved with a Swiss Army knife." Campbell responded: "Who could fail to be similarly moved? It is as if the complete works of Shakespeare were written with a quill pen."

He distrusted identity politics. "The subject of race in modern Britain is so delicate, so hedged about by hypocrisy and euphemism, so confused, that it has become impossible to talk about it in plain language," he wrote. He tried to do so anyway.

He distrusted, as well, the culture of cancellation. He listed the foibles of many, many, *many* writers but arrived at the realization that "if you insist on judging writers by their personal behavior, you'll be better off not reading at all."

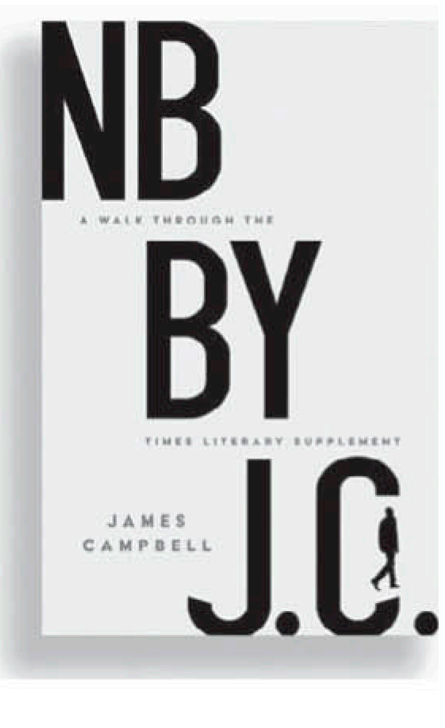
Editors were once lionized for issuing banned books ("Lady Chatterley's Lover," "Ulysses," "Lolita"). In these times, he wrote, "an editor is in danger of being sacked for publishing something that doesn't fit someone else's definition of 'appropriate.'"

He defended what's become known as cultural appropriation, in every direction. ("If the art is good, it justifies its own creation. If bad, it predicts its own oblivion.")

He was no special fan of Margaret Thatcher, but he was weary of hearing her tenure as prime minister damned in hyperbolic terms. When Joyce Carol Oates, reviewing a memoir by Jeanette Winterson in The New York Review of Books, described Winterson as "a fierce and eloquent supporter of the literary arts, having lived through Thatcher's England as a university student at Oxford," Campbell was moved to reply:

Is that Thatcher's England in which tanks rolled on to campuses, soldiers rounded up the intelligentsia and bonfires were made out of books beloved by Jeanette Winterson? Or Thatcher's England where a working-class girl from Accrington could go to Oxford and receive not just a free education but a generous maintenance as well?

NB BY J.C.: A Walk Through the Times Literary Supplement
By James Campbell
374 pages. Paul Dry Books.
Paperback. $24.95.



He printed Elmore Leonard's 10 rules for writing fiction ("Never open a book with the weather," "Try to leave out the part that readers tend to skip") and tore them apart. He noted that, in nearly every case, each could be replaced with its opposite. "Our rule for the cultivation of good writing is much simpler," he wrote. "Stay in, read and don't limit yourself to American crime fiction."

Campbell wrote about writers who pretend not to read their reviews, and biographers who hate their subjects. He wrote about pop lyrics derived from classic literature. He took note of mentions of the TLS in literature. (He missed one of my favorites, from a biography of Angela Carter. She described the vibe in the critic Lorna Sage's house as "tea bags, Tampax and the TLS.") There are animadversions against literary back-scratching. Campbell sought to distinguish the sham from the genuine.

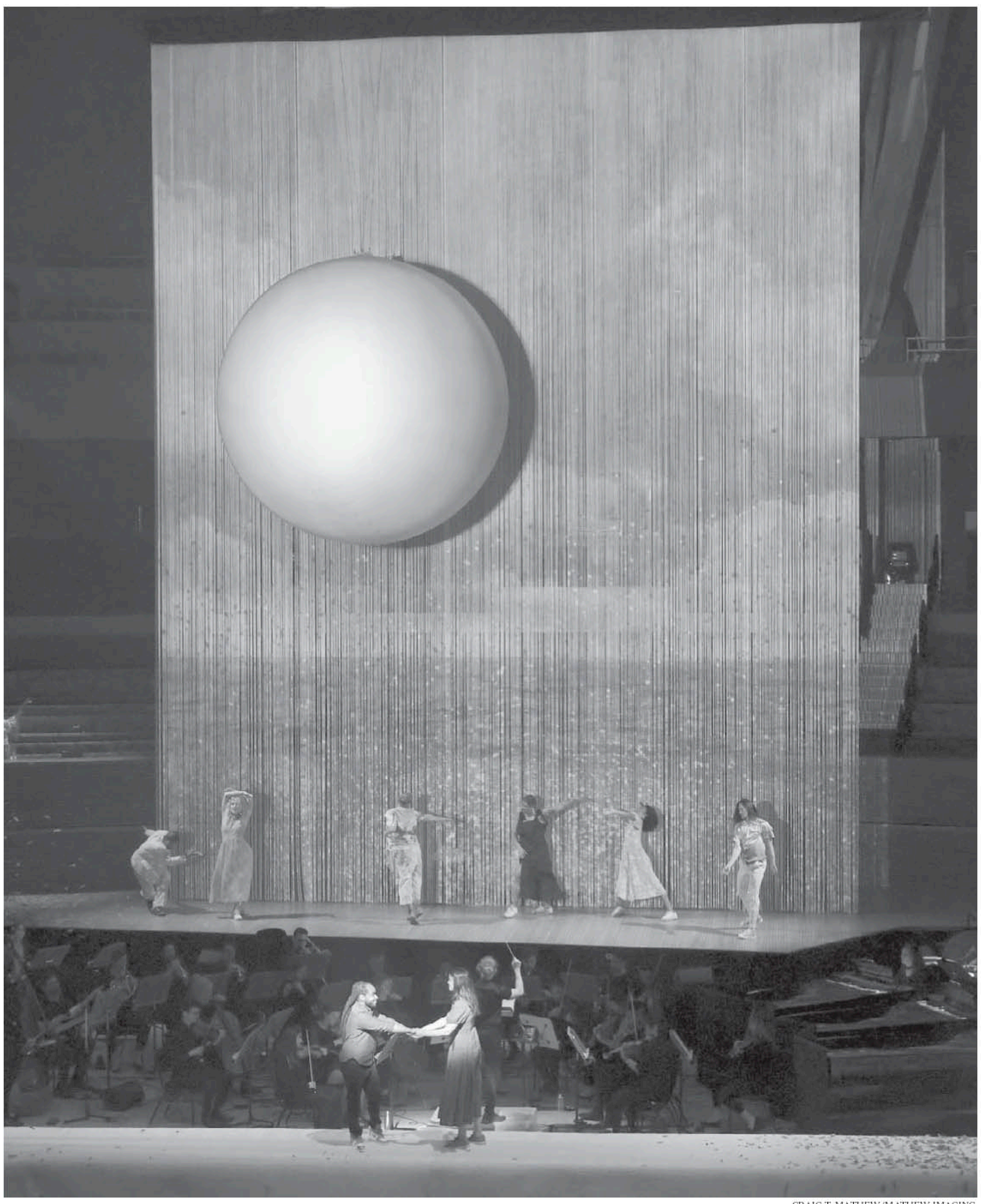
He was interested in everything. When he needed material for a column, he would sometimes walk to a bookstore, buy something unusual and write about its contents. He made it work.

NB is the sort of column that people looked at and thought, "I could do that." Turns out they couldn't. I still read NB every week with pleasure, but absent J.C., the column has lost a sliver of its freshness and nerve, and is still seeking to (re)find its voice.

JOSHUA BARONE | OPERA REVIEW

Six Hours of Ambition and Magnitude

The Los Angeles Philharmonic performed a lengthy work in full, with tips of the hat.



CRAIG T. MATHEW/MATHEW IMAGING

The opera "Stranger Love," from Dylan Mattingly and Thomas Bartscherer, being staged in its entirety.

CRITIC'S PICK **Stranger Love** Performed on Saturday at Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles.

LOS ANGELES — The composer Dylan Mattingly's cheeks turned red, and he held a hand up to his eyes, as he began to cry late Saturday night during the bows for the world premiere of his opera "Stranger Love."

It was an understandably emotional moment. "Stranger Love," created with Thomas Bartscherer, had been in development for over a decade and performed piecemeal, but was now being presented in its entirety at Walt Disney Concert Hall by the perhaps the only orchestra that could do it: the Los Angeles Philharmonic.

That's because "Stranger Love" is a six-hour, durational opera, an earnest exercise in deep feeling that takes sensations and stretches them from the personal to the cosmic, and goes big in a time when contemporary music tends to go small. It requires the kind of pipe-dream planning that many institutions shy away from, but that has been characteristic of the Philharmonic.

Characteristic in large part thanks to the work of Chad Smith, the orchestra's chief executive and one of its longtime administrators, who said last week that he would leave Los Angeles for the Boston Symphony Orchestra this fall. That news followed another recent blow: the announcement that the Philharmonic's superstar maestro, Gustavo Dudamel, would depart for New York in 2026.

The Los Angeles Philharmonic is now at an inflection point. At stake is the preservation of an ethos that has made this orchestra the kind that can throw its ambition, and deep pockets, into projects like John Cage's outrageous "Europeras" at Sony Studios; regular commissions at the length of symphonies and full evenings; and "Stranger Love," whose first act alone is as long as Wagner's "Tristan und Isolde" (also programmed there this season), but which doesn't have a fraction of its marketability.

So, as Mattingly cried onstage, his triumph felt bittersweet, with a tinge of fear about the Philharmonic's next phase. "Omnia mutantur," someone says in the opera, nodding to Ovid: Everything changes. Yet it's also natural to want more from the Smith-Dudamel era — to "tarry a while" and "linger in this moment," to pull another line from the show.

No matter what happens, "Stranger Love" deserves life beyond its one-night-only run at Disney Hall, which was hosted by the Philharmonic and performed by Mattingly's ensemble, Contemporaneous. The most natural fit in New York, where epically avant-garde opera has all but vanished from earlier bastions like the Brooklyn Academy of Music and Lincoln Center, would be the Park Avenue Armory, the city's most generous promoter of large-scale work.

If anything, the Armory would be a more appropriate space than Disney Hall, its vastness able to accommodate Mattingly's musical and emotional sprawl — the way his score does nothing *but* linger, luxuriating in the good and the bad, the spiritual and the doubtful, and above all the ecstatic.

Like most works of extreme ambition and magnitude, "Stranger Love" isn't perfect. When it name-checks the likes of Anne Carson and Octavio Paz, it behaves more like creative nonfiction than opera and yanks its audience from an experience of pure feeling. Some stretches of the score are more trying than transporting, and the second act seems destined to torment any director.

That 80-minute act — in which singers exist more as instrumentalists than traditional characters — certainly appears to have stumped Lileana Blain-Cruz, an imaginative, effective director who wasn't in full control of the material here, or much of elsewhere. There were references, in her modest staging, to the work's lineage of opera and durational art. In Matt Saunders's scenic design, a tall backdrop (made of threads that formed a canvas for Hanna Wasileski's projections) was at one point illuminated with Karl Friedrich Schinkel's celestial, forced-perspective set for "The Magic Flute." As if playing off an "Einstein on the Beach" reference in the line "These are the days my friends," Blain-Cruz has two people carry and sit in chairs that could have been used in Robert Wilson's original "Einstein" production.

That's far from the only tip of the hat in "Stranger Love," but it may be the most explicit. Mattingly has internalized a wealth of musical styles: the gamelan-influenced, West Coast sounds of Lou Harrison; the propulsive cadences of John Adams; the vocal technique and poetic dramaturgy of Meredith Monk. Three female voices — Holly Sedillos, Catherine Brookman and Eliza Bagg, often employing woodwind-like vocalise — could have been pulled from a Minimalist ensemble.

But Mattingly doesn't quote. Instead, his influences surface subtly, abstracted in, say, a rhythmic gesture. In the end, the language is entirely his own. Although his score often instructs singers to "sound as beautiful as possible," his writing calls for the directness of pop rather than an operatic color. His 28-piece orchestra includes restless percussion and three pianos: one with standard tuning, one roughly half a tone lower, the other in between. The microtonal effect, in Mattingly's polyrhythms, can be that of a gently melodic choir of wind chimes.

In each scene, Mattingly prolongs a musical idea with mantra-like focus, relishing and delicately transforming it. Bartscherer's poetic and slim story follows a couple, Tasha and Andre, through the seasons, a vague timeline guided more by mood than chronology: fresh, promising spring; pleasantly lethargic summer; suddenly shifting autumn; suffocatingly glacial winter. This general arc is narrated by Uriel — a charismatic Julyana Soelistyo, whose otherworldliness is emphasized in Kaye Voyce's costume design — and accompanied by two allegorical figures, Threat From Without (temptation) and Threat From Within (doubt).

David Bloom conducted Mattingly's pitfall-ridden score with a sure hand. Occasionally, his hips betrayed an urge to groove, but even then he remained unflappably precise. As Andre, the tenor Isaiah Robinson had a bright purity that served the score with an egoless instrumental timbre similar to the soprano Molly Netter's Tasha. As the Threat From Without, Jane Sheldon sang with birdlike leaps redolent of Monk's "Atlas"; Luc Kleiner, as the Threat From Within, was gloomier and darkly seductive.

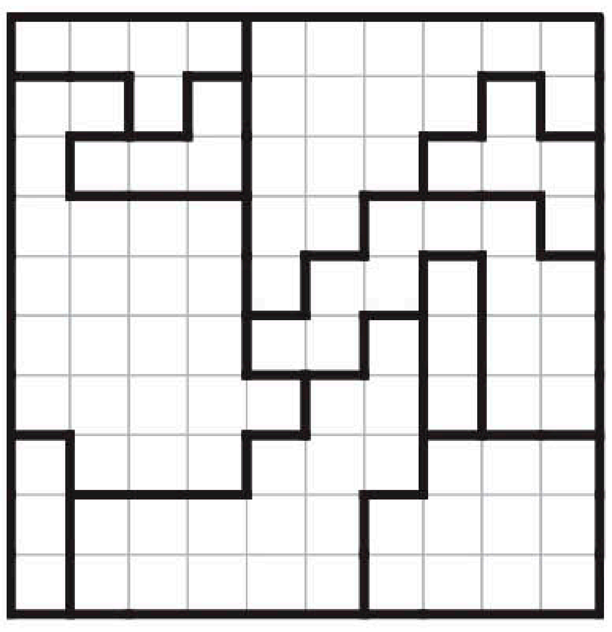
Blain-Cruz's production featured six dancers, who during the first act are made to behave with unpredictably fast and slow stylized movement that snaps into focus only when Tasha and Andre spot each other and sustain eye contact from across the stage. But in the second act, the dancers merely retell the lovers' story through Chris Emile's tiresomely obvious choreography.

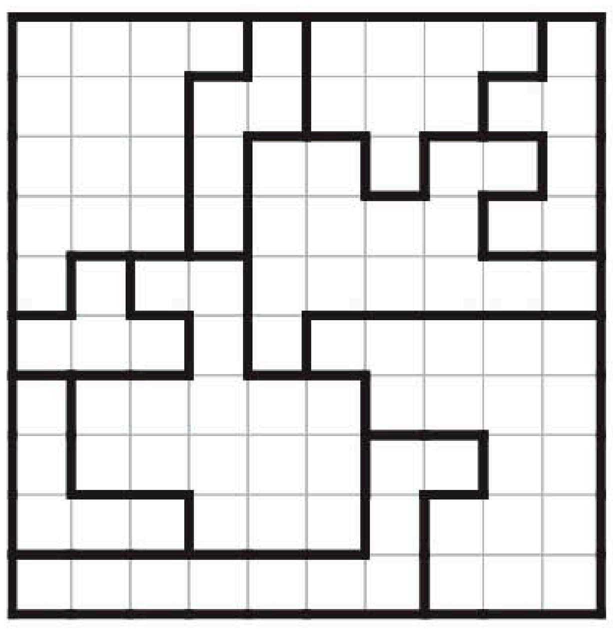
Most impressive were the members of Contemporaneous, which Mattingly founded with Bloom while students at Bard College. These are players well versed in Mattingly's idiom, and well suited to take on such an immense, difficult score for one night: exact and detailed, but also lively and openly dancing, as full of personality as any singer.

They are the stars of the purely instrumental third act, repeating versions of earworm phrases for about 20 minutes. As the score ritualistically stretches a kind of communal love to the cosmos, one melody begins to spread out as well, until, in the final seconds, it unfurls slowly, ending before it reaches its last note.

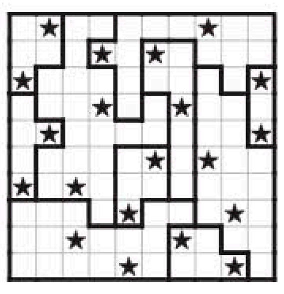
And why should it? When something is this special, you can't help wanting to tarry awhile and linger in the moment.

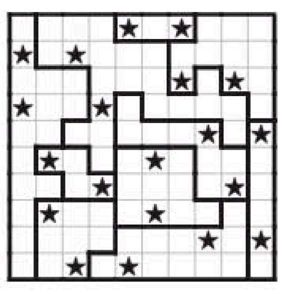
Two Not Touch





ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES





Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

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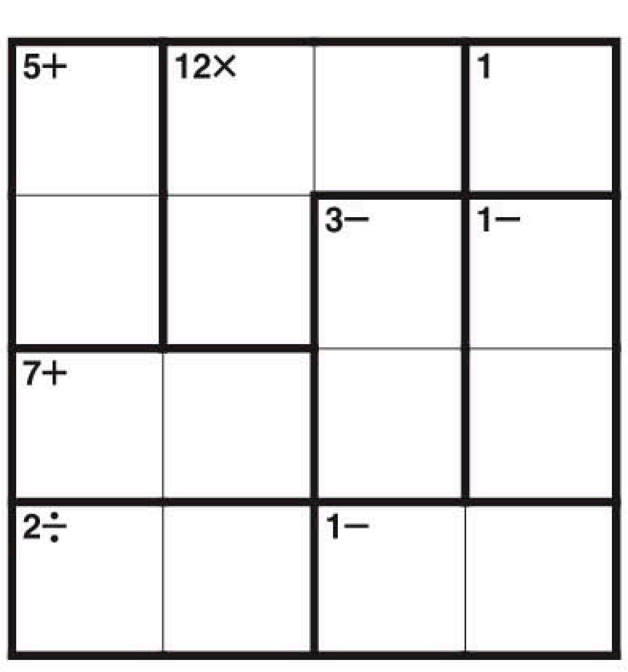
Cryptogram

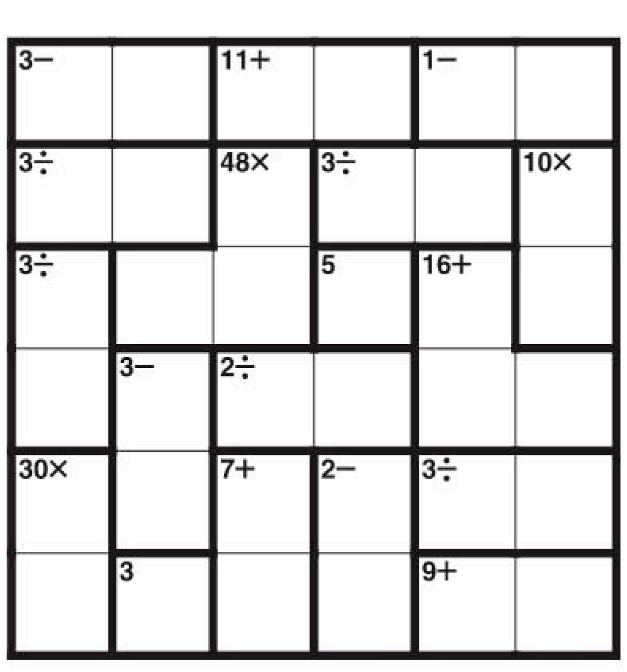
FJCDWPK WDG QYBBD RBWDF, KCQK CD SCDBYWOF OCNB CYLD, PWD SWNB FJWYNF IKBD SCPYLIWZBG.

PUZZLE BY BEN BASS

YESTERDAY'S ANSWER Istanbul

KenKen





ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES

1	2	3	4
2	1	4	3
3	4	2	1
4	3	1	2

6	1	3	2	4	5
4	6	5	1	2	3
1	2	4	3	5	6
3	5	2	6	1	4
2	4	6	5	3	1
5	3	1	4	6	2

Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

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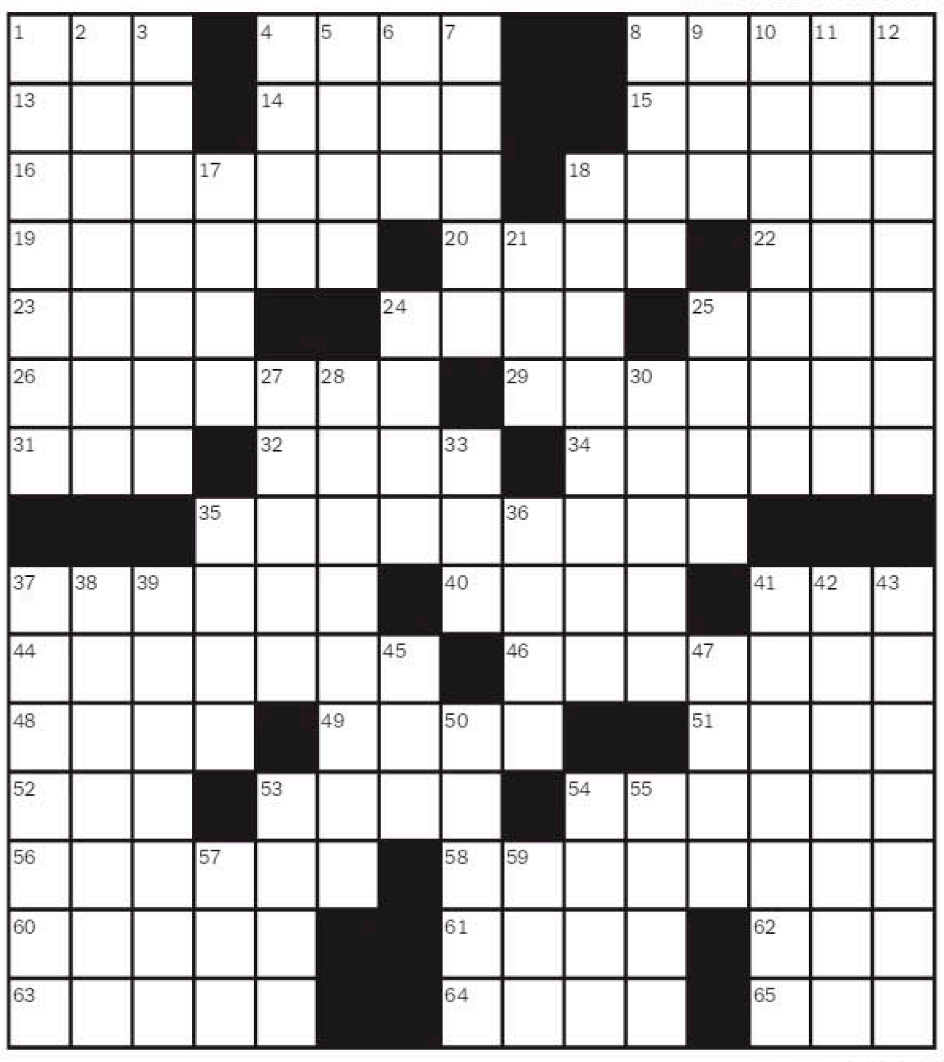
Crossword | Edited by Will Shortz

PUZZLE BY LEE TAYLOR



5/23/23

ACROSS

1 Beverage that may come with a bag
4 Gulf nation
8 Noisy drinker's sound
13 Dada artist Jean
14 "Warrior princess" of old TV
15 Capital of Vietnam
16 *Poets + 10 = Serves drinks*
18 Relating to living things
19 Kazakhs and Uzbeks, e.g.
20 Stratford-upon-___
22 First U.S. state alphabetically: Abbr.
23 Religious offshoot
24 They may share a tartan
25 Gear rented at a mountain
26 Country with the longest border along the Adriatic Sea
29 Growths on rocks and bark
31 German sunrise direction
32 Mailing label abbr.
34 Actress Lupita
35 *Small amphibian + 7 = Story worth covering*
37 Garden pavilion
40 Javier Bardem's role in 2021's "Being the Ricardos"
41 Make a faux pas
44 Staffers listed on a masthead
46 One on the lam
48 Google ___
49 Lock lips
51 Pub serving
52 World finance org.
53 Parent company of Facebook
54 Court entertainer
56 Got exactly
58 *Phase + 1 = Ancient period*
60 Family member via marriage
61 Round of applause
62 ___-brained (not smart)
63 Landing spots?
64 Graph line
65 Prez after F.D.R.

DOWN

1 Hot sauce brand
2 Whiteboard cleaners
3 Jam flavor
4 Plow pullers
5 ___ Wearhouse (clothing chain)
6 &
7 Like a twangy voice
8 Part of the leg below the knee
9 Language spoken west of 15-Across
10 Free, as a seat
11 Making turbulent
12 "Guernica" painter
17 British "bye-bye"
18 *Supervisor + 9 = Quality that makes a fish hard to eat*
21 Kilmer who played Batman
24 Revered animals in ancient Egypt
25 Kaput
27 Karate-like exercise program
28 *Annoyed + 2 = "Success!"*
30 Jaded person
33 Actor Beatty
35 Makes after expenses
36 Vivaldi duet?
37 Many births in late spring, astrologically
38 Firm in one's stance
39 Email attachment with compressed content
41 Words written in marble
42 Pulls out of a deal
43 Pull back
45 "Pull up a chair!"
47 Basilica recess
50 Younger Obama daughter
53 Kittens' cries
54 Mitchell whose "Blue" was named #1 on NPR's "150 Greatest Albums Made by Women" list
55 Codas
57 Napkin's place
59 Civic duty, of a sort

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

A	B	O	R	T		R	I	N	G		B	A	R	E
N	A	B	O	B		E	T	A	L		A	T	O	N
A	D	A	M	S	A	V	A	G	E		N	E	S	T
K	A	M	A		C	A	L		E	S	T	A	T	E
I	R	A	N		A	M	Y	S	C	H	U	M	E	R
N	E	E		P	I	P		P	L	Y		S	R	S
	A	R	I	A			S	A	U	N	A			
		A	N	D	Y	S	A	M	B	E	R	G		
			S	T	O	I	C			S	M	O	G	
M	B	A		H	U	M		N	A	S		D	O	S
A	L	S	H	A	R	P	T	O	N		E	S	T	E
R	U	S	T	I	C		A	N	T		B	E	A	R
B	R	U	T		A	S	S	E	E	N	O	N	T	V
L	A	M	P		L	U	T	E		O	L	D	I	E
E	Y	E	S		L	I	E	D		W	A	S	P	S

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CALUM MARSH | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Delivering a Master Class in Talking Smack

The first 'White Men Can't Jump' wasn't about winning.

20TH CENTURY FOX

Back in 1992, Woody Harrelson and Wesley Snipes were all about personal aesthetic in "White Men Can't Jump."

Who's the better player is second to who has more attitude and verve, bombast and braggadocio.

"WHITE MEN CAN'T JUMP" was released on March 27, 1992. On the morning of March 28 — according to a wonderful if apocryphal sports legend — Michael Jordan rolled up to the Sunset Ridge Country Club in the Chicago suburbs, drank around 10 bottles of Coors Light and played two rounds of golf. He had a game that night. Brimming with beer, Jordan posted 44 points, six assists and three steals to help the Bulls beat the visiting Cavaliers, 126 to 102.

The writer-director Ron Shelton's brisk, lighthearted basketball comedy isn't about the N.B.A., and the only time Jordan is mentioned, it's somewhat disparagingly: Sidney Deane, the stylish, loudmouthed streetball virtuoso played by Wesley Snipes, brags that Jordan was impressed with his skills and advised him to join the summer league, an offer he declined. (Professional training, Sidney balks, "might mess up my game.") But there is something of Jordan's brazen, bravura post-beer performance in "White Men Can't Jump," which fairly thrums with cocksure athletic swagger. It's not, like many sports movies, about what it takes to win. It's about what it takes to win with panache.

A hit with audiences and critics back then — in The New York Times, Janet Maslin praised its "raucous wit" — the movie's reputation has swelled enormously in the intervening three decades. "White Men Can't Jump" has emerged as a bona fide classic, adored by basketball fans and cherished for its loving depiction of streetball. On Friday, Hulu released a remake starring Sinqua Walls and the rapper Jack Harlow, though it hardly seems likely to recapture the singular magic of the original (which is also streaming on Hulu).

Part of the appeal is in how grounded the movie seems in its time and place. Billy Hoyle (Woody Harrelson) is a gifted hooper who makes a precarious living for himself and his girlfriend, Gloria (Rosie Perez), by hustling Black streetball players who underestimate him because he's white. When he shows up to the courts of Venice Beach in Los Angeles, Shelton shoots our entree into this world with a local's eye for color. We see sand being combed, people performing tai chi, bodybuilders curling dumbbells: the rich sense of detail establishes us firmly in this community. And what we appreciate immediately is that we are far, far away from the world of professional basketball: This is real Venice Beach streetball, and it's basketball as a fixture of everyday life.

Billy is there to take Sidney's money. But other than a few cracks about race — Sidney and his friends mock the uncool-looking Billy as a geek — it's clear that he fits right in. What Billy understands, and what the movie so beautifully expresses, is that streetball is about more than merely who is the most accomplished player. Streetball is about attitude and verve, about bombast and braggadocio. When Billy drains a 3-pointer in a shootout, Sidney nonetheless derides his style: "No aesthetic beauty whatsoever," he jeers. Or as one of Sidney's friends puts it, after Sidney's more elegant 3-pointer in reply: "A thing of beauty is a joy forever. My man John Keats said that!"

Other sports movies have captured the power of victory. Only "White Men Can't Jump" has captured the power of talking smack. The movie is a master class in mockery and ridicule. On the court, Sidney and Billy eloquently extol the virtues of the incisive barb or well-timed insult, demonstrating the degree to which winning and losing in streetball comes down to disturbing an adversary's concentration and preserving one's own clarity of mind. "It's different than your country club," Sidney teases Billy, insinuating that he won't be able to cut it on a real streetball court, where mental toughness more than simple proficiency is the name of the game. But Billy can malign with the best of them. "Let's stop and gather all these bricks. Let's build a homeless shelter," he snickers, "so maybe your mother has a place to live!"

Billy thinks he has Sidney's number. "You'd rather look good and lose," he tells him, "than look bad and win." It's an apt diagnosis, but it cuts both ways. Billy's game is wrapped up in his ego and pride, too — a fact made clear when he later takes an ill-advised bet to prove that he can dunk, simply because he can't stand to be insulted. Billy and Sidney both strive for what the Italian courtier and writer Baldassare Castiglione called "sprezzatura": studied carelessness, "which conceals all artistry and makes whatever one says or does seem uncontrived and effortless." They want to dominate, but more to the point, they want to make dominating look easy.

It's not that the movie endorses this point of view. In fact, it wisely complicates the idea, later making Billy pay for his hubris when Gloria leaves him over his obsession with the game. "Sometimes when you win, you really lose," Gloria cautions Billy, in the film's most memorable monologue, and perhaps the closest thing it has to a thesis statement. But the film understands the driving force that keeps Billy and Sidney in the game even when they should quit, and it's one of the few movies of its kind to depict that pure streetball attitude with real wisdom. For these guys, ball is life. They can turn down a challenge about as easily as they can stop breathing.

"White Men Can't Jump" opens and closes on the same court on the same beach, with the same a cappella trio, the Venice Beach Boys. The circular structure is fitting for a movie about what is in essence an endless pastime — and we can well imagine Billy and Sidney remaining there, draining shots back and forth until the end of time. That may account for why the movie has endured for more than 30 years, and why its appeal seems timeless. It's not just about a few games of basketball in the summer of 1992. It's about the magic of streetball — and that magic is forever.

Warhol Copyright Ruling Reverberates

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

graph of the musician taken by Lynn Goldsmith. One of the silk-screens was licensed by his estate to Condé Nast in 2016 to illustrate the cover of a special issue about the musician's legacy.

When Goldsmith sued, asserting her copyright had been infringed, the Warhol estate argued that it was entitled to the so-called fair-use defense. The estate's lawyers suggested that Warhol's treatment of the image, which was colored, cropped and shaded in certain places, had been "transformative," a term the courts have adopted to define just how much change the appropriating artist must bring to the underlying work to pass muster.

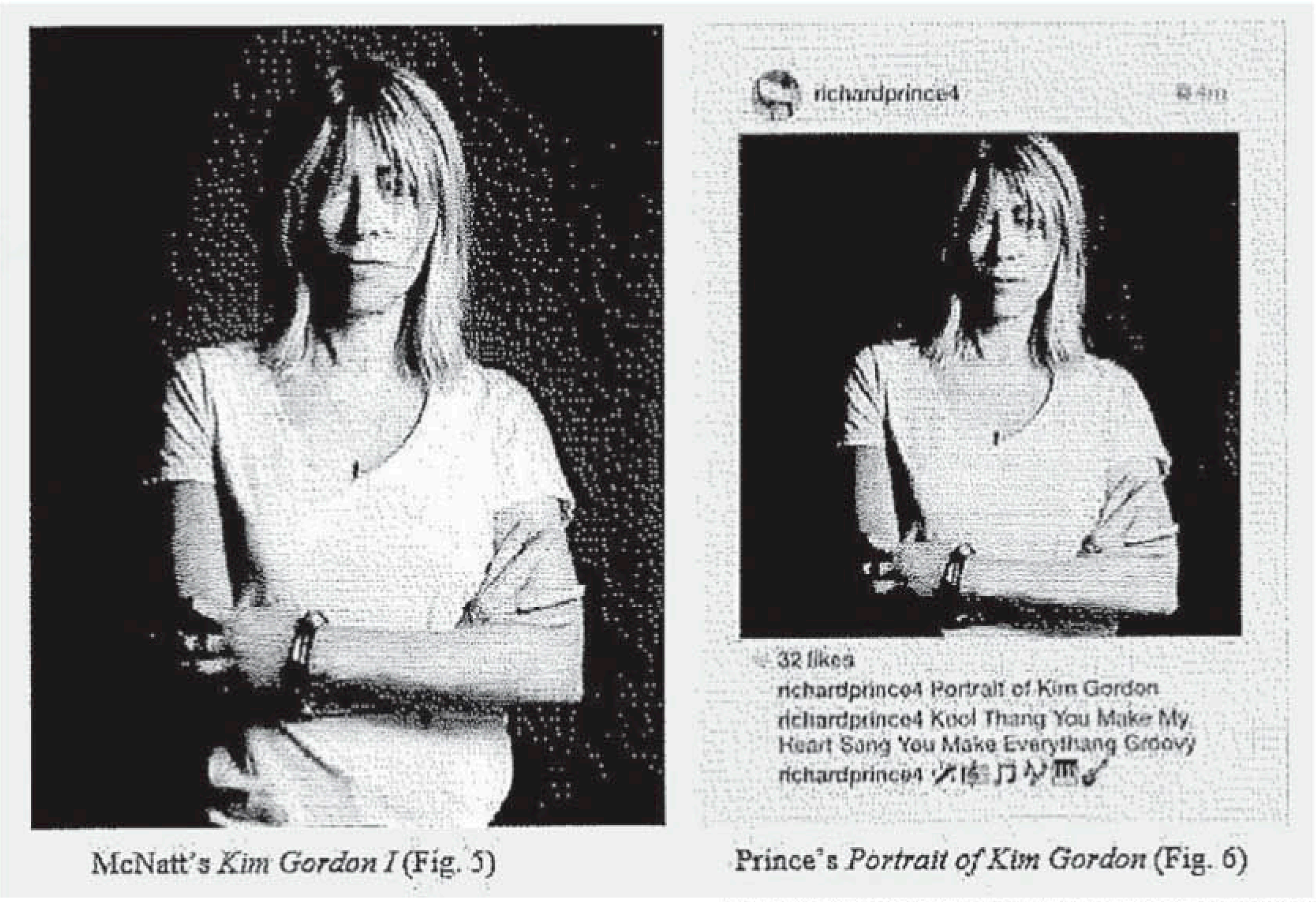
Many thought the latest Supreme Court decision might more clearly delineate what qualifies a work as transformative. But the justices chose instead to focus on how the Warhol portrait had been used, namely to illustrate an article about the musician. The court found that such a use was not distinct enough from the "purpose and character" of Goldsmith's photo, which had been licensed to Vanity Fair years earlier to help illustrate an article about Prince.

The artist Richard Prince. At issue is whether some of his work is transformative or just copying.

"It was the licensing use, not the creative use, that was at issue," said Michael W. Carroll, a professor at American University Washington College of Law.

In the 7-2 Warhol decision, the high court's majority emphasized that, in the end, both Goldsmith and the Warhol Foundation were essentially competing for the same commercial benefit. Both the photograph and the print were being sold to a magazine and used as art to accompany articles about Prince, and as such they shared "substantially the same commercial purpose," the court said. Put another way, the Warhol print, the majority said, was being used as "a commercial substitute" for Goldsmith's photograph.

In a rare inclusion, the court published several images as part of its opinion, including Goldsmith's photograph and the orange silk-screen by Warhol that was used for a cover of a Condé Nast special edition on Prince in 2016.



U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

Images from federal court papers show a photograph of the musician Kim Gordon, left, shot by the photographer Eric McNatt, and "Portrait of Kim Gordon" created by Richard Prince.

In his concurring opinion, Justice Neil Gorsuch suggested that the court's ruling was tailored to the specific case before the court and that if the Warhol Foundation had sought to use his art in some other way, it might have been considered fair.

"If, for example, the Foundation had sought to display Mr. Warhol's image of Prince in a nonprofit museum or a for-profit book commenting on 20th-century art, the purpose and character of that use might well point to fair use," he wrote. "But those cases are not this case."

Furthermore, the court said in its summary of Justice Sonia Sotomayor's majority opinion, that simply conveying "a new meaning or message" through an artistically altered work was, on its own, "not justification enough" to garner protection.

In her dissent, Justice Elena Kagan, joined by Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., argued that the majority had erred in more or less brushing aside questions of whether Warhol's works were artistically transformative.

"That's a shift in the way the way the court has previously thought about fair use," said Jonathan Y. Ellis, a co-chairman of McGuireWoods' appeals and issues team. The high court's decision, he added, "puts less emphasis on the creation of a work," and seems to direct lower courts away from transformation as the most essential legal touchstone.

The question of transformation remains central to the Richard Prince cases. In 2013, he was at the center of a closely watched case that established a somewhat ambiguous precedent for determining fair use. Now he is back in court, defending an installation called "New Portraits" in which he printed several Instagram photos on large canvases, and added his own Instagram-style comments below them. Two of the photographers who took photos reproduced on the canvases have sued.

Lawyers for Richard Prince have argued, as the Warhol Foundation did, that their client could do this under the fair-use defense and that the artist's work had been transformative. But this month, a federal judge in Manhattan denied his motions for summary judgment that would have ended the case, finding that his art had merely modified the photographs he had copied, not transformed them, and thus the case could go forward to trial.

Brian Sexton, a lawyer for Richard Prince, said the Supreme Court, in its Warhol decision, "went to great pains" to make clear that its findings were "limited to a single licensing dispute."

"As Richard Prince makes individual paintings and does not license his works, the holding in Warhol is clearly inapplicable to his New Portraits litigation," he said.

More broadly, Sexton added: "The concern among artists with the Warhol Foundation decision is that some of the regressive fair use language used in reaching this very specific and limited ruling on a commercial license will be applied to individual works of art, and lead to more confusion."

A lawyer for one of the plaintiffs in the Richard Prince matter declined to comment because the case is ongoing. Experts said the district court ruling in the cases did appear to focus more on questions about the creative intent behind the art than on how he ultimately used it.

Bart Lazar, who specializes in copyright law, said the Warhol decision seemed to prioritize more pragmatic concerns about market competitiveness between an art work and the underlying photograph.

Nonetheless, it is possible, the experts said, that the Supreme Court ruling could prompt the plaintiffs suing Richard Prince to try to narrowly tailor their arguments to highlight the potential for any similar commercial uses of the photographs and the artworks.

And the scholars agreed, just days after the Supreme Court's ruling, there is still a lot to untangle.

"I think it will be some time, as we see this play out on the lower courts, before we understand the full implications of the opinion," said Laura Heymann, a professor at William & Mary Law School who specializes in intellectual property law.

Professor Carroll said he too was interested in seeing how the decision will play out, and suggested the interpretations may not be uniform. "It now falls to the lower courts to interpret how broadly to read the opinion," he said. "Is it really just about competitive licensing use, or is it more broadly about creating derivative works? I think what you'll see is lower courts reading it each way, and then eventually this issue is going to find its way back to the Supreme Court."

THEATER DIRECTORY
Your daily guide to theater

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JESSE GREEN | THEATER REVIEW

JULIETA CERVANTES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

An Arranged Marriage of Musical Styles

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

colorful scenes. It didn't matter how many went nowhere; the editing was all.

The musical tries to maintain that quick-cut effect while also squeezing the material into a traditional musical theater format. Nair told The New York Times she'd been inspired by the example of "Fiddler on the Roof," a classic that, like "Monsoon Wedding," encompasses one family's marital chaos as part of a community's encounter with tradition and change.

But "Fiddler" was adapted from a collection of short stories about a strong central character, not from a movie about many. The difference shows. The musical's book, by Arpita Mukherjee and Sabrina Dhawan, is all over the place, and as staged by Nair on an abstract courtyard set by Jason Ardizzone-West, you rarely know where that is. The production seems to think in camera terms, as if a lens were still directing the audience's attention when in fact nothing is.

I'm not sure anything could. Along with the frenzy of assembling the enormous celebration, the musical, like the film, encompasses a secondary comic romance between Dubey, the wedding planner, and Alice, the Vermas's put-upon maid. The marriage of Aditi's parents (Gagan Dev Riar and Palomi Ghosh) also gets a look, as do the romantic ideas of a tweenish cousin and a gayish brother, would-be in-laws, other relatives, local workers and (it sometimes seems) all of Delhi.

Nair does create musical-like texture by pulling some of these stories forward while pushing others back. The problem that threatens Aditi's marriage — she is not yet over her affair with a married man — is recessed so far it essentially disappears upstage, depriving the crisis of serious tension. In its place we get the milder problem of deracination, since she will have to move to Hemant's home in the States: Can she learn to love New Jersey?

The problem that threatens the marriage of Dubey (Namit Das) and Alice (Anisha Nagarajan) has on the other hand been upgraded from almost indecipherable in the movie to very serious indeed: In a country born in bitter partition, ethnic or religious divides of any sort — he's Hindu and she's Christian — can be harrowing. The resolution is facile ("the heart never tells a lie") but at least it's in a song.

That song, sung by Dubey's mother (Sargam Ipshita Bali) to her overwrought son, is lovely, one of the few with a clear personality among 22 in a score that too often feels like a collection of snippets. In one, the gorgeous "Madhaniyan," Aditi's father bids her farewell on the eve of the marriage, pulling the same strings as "Far From the Home I Love" in "Fiddler." (Well, not quite the same strings; the excellent eight-person band is highlighted by a sitar.)

Namit Das and Anisha Nagarajan as the lovers in a secondary romance in "Monsoon Wedding."

Monsoon Wedding
Through June 25 at St. Ann's Warehouse in Brooklyn; stannswarehouse.org. Running time: 2 hours 30 minutes.

But gorgeous or not, the score (music by Vishal Bhardwaj, lyrics by Masi Asare and Susan Birkenhead) is, like the script, all over the place. When the style, whether American or Indian, occasionally matches the characters and situation, the alignment makes the moment pop. An absurd production number called "Chuk Chuk" (for the sound a train makes as Dubey chases one to win Alice) sounds straight out of Bollywood, and with its cinematic projections (by David Bengali) and frenetic choreography (by Shampa Gopikrishna) it fits the dramatic moment in a way that excuses its utter lack of logic. A white horse is involved.

Otherwise, the musicalization feels both too assertive and too inconclusive, like a parade passing by. (There are rarely buttons on the songs to tell you they're done, leaving the audience wondering whether to applaud.) Only in one song is there a concerted approach to the dramatic experience. The song involves Aditi's orphaned cousin Ria, raised with her as a sister. Serious and studious, Ria (Sharvari Deshpande) plans to attend New York University, mostly as a way of escaping the marital expectations that Aditi, a pampered princess — "even your panties are ironed" — is all too willing to meet.

That Ria is also escaping a social atmosphere that tolerates the sexual abuse of girls is a theme that Nair emphasizes much more strongly here than in the film. But powerful as this is, especially in Deshpande's performance, it is also destabilizing. It's hard to make the leap from her late-Act II outcry, "Be a Good Girl," to the happy ending, complete with exquisite saris (by Arjun Bhasin), a celebratory remix and the requisite double wedding.

How Ria became the central figure here — hers is the only solo number in the show — is a bit of a mystery, as if "Fiddler" decided to put Chava, the disowned daughter, above the title. Longer scenes (some are just three lines) might have helped explain the change, or shift our expectations in a show called "Monsoon Wedding" to the character who specifically doesn't want to get married.

Still, you have to be grateful that Ria has elicited from the authors their most powerful writing. In "Leaving Means Returning," sung to her by her stepfather, a lyric encapsulates in a beautiful phrase the tempting if ambivalent embrace of family: "We are your comfort and your courtyard." Just so, genre is a place of safety but also a kind of prison. "Monsoon Wedding" does not quite escape either.

JON PARELES | MUSIC REVIEW

A Grown-Up View Of Love and Dread

A dad-rocker sings of how fleeting life can be, and of memories to be left behind.

DAVE MATTHEWS BAND albums seesaw between joy and angst. On the home front, with a partner and family, the songs find affection, pleasure and ease. Beyond it, the wider world holds strife and dread. And looking inward can be just as troubling.

"Walk Around the Moon," the band's 10th studio album, opens with its title song, swinging the beat and exulting in a relationship that has saved the grateful singer: "You gave me everything/Now I'm flying into this kaleidoscopic dream." But that dream doesn't last; up next is a song about school shootings. "Madman's Eyes" is set to an ominous, Middle Eastern-tinged modal riff and buttressed by a moaning, swooping string orchestra, as Matthews howls, "Don't sacrifice another child!"

More than most rock songwriters — especially in the jam-band realm he has been barnstorming for three decades — Matthews, 56, leans into being a grown-up. He's an unabashed dad-rocker who has long been thinking and worrying about the welfare of his children and of generations to come. In "Something to Tell My Baby," a waltz backed by only his acoustic guitar and a few strings, Matthews muses on how fleeting life can be, crooning in his humblest falsetto and wondering what memories to leave behind "to make them smile/And maybe make things easier."

"Walk Around the Moon" is the band's first studio album since 2018, and the first since its longtime violinist, Boyd Tinsley, left the band and was sued for sexual harassment by a musician in a side project; the case was settled in 2019.

The band's sound had already been changing and deepening. On its 1990s albums, Matthews's guitar — often acoustic — was the band's only chordal instrument, joined in light-fingered counterpoint by saxophone, violin, bass and drums for staccato grooves that blended folk, funk and jazz. Through the years, as its audiences grew to arena size, the band was bolstered with keyboards, electric guitar and horns, growing brawnier, weightier and brassier. (Rashawn Ross, a trumpeter who has toured with the band since 2006, now has a more prominent role.) But the band's founding rhythm section — Carter Beauford on drums and Stefan Lessard on bass — still keeps the songs nimble, no matter how burdened Matthews's thoughts can become.

"I'm down in this hole again," he sings in "Looking for a Vein," as he compares himself to a miner who works compulsively. "What if I strike it/rich as I want to be?" he muses over a loping, six-beat guitar lick. "Will it set me free/Or be just another hole to dig?" In "The Only Thing," over a barreling electric guitar riff that hints at Led Zeppelin, Matthews is desperate to "Crawl out of this skin I'm living in/Crawl out of my mind into the outside." And in "Monsters," a reverberating ballad with a sputtering double time undercurrent, he's trying to reassure a child — or possibly himself — that the "monsters in your head" aren't real.

In these new songs, love, or even the possibility of love, solves a lot of problems: the fear in "Monsters," the self-loathing in "The Only Thing." Other songs — "After Everything" and "Break Free" — cautiously celebrate love going right, emotionally and carnally, with Matthews pledging devotion while full-tilt horn sections blare his delight.

SANJAY SUCHAK

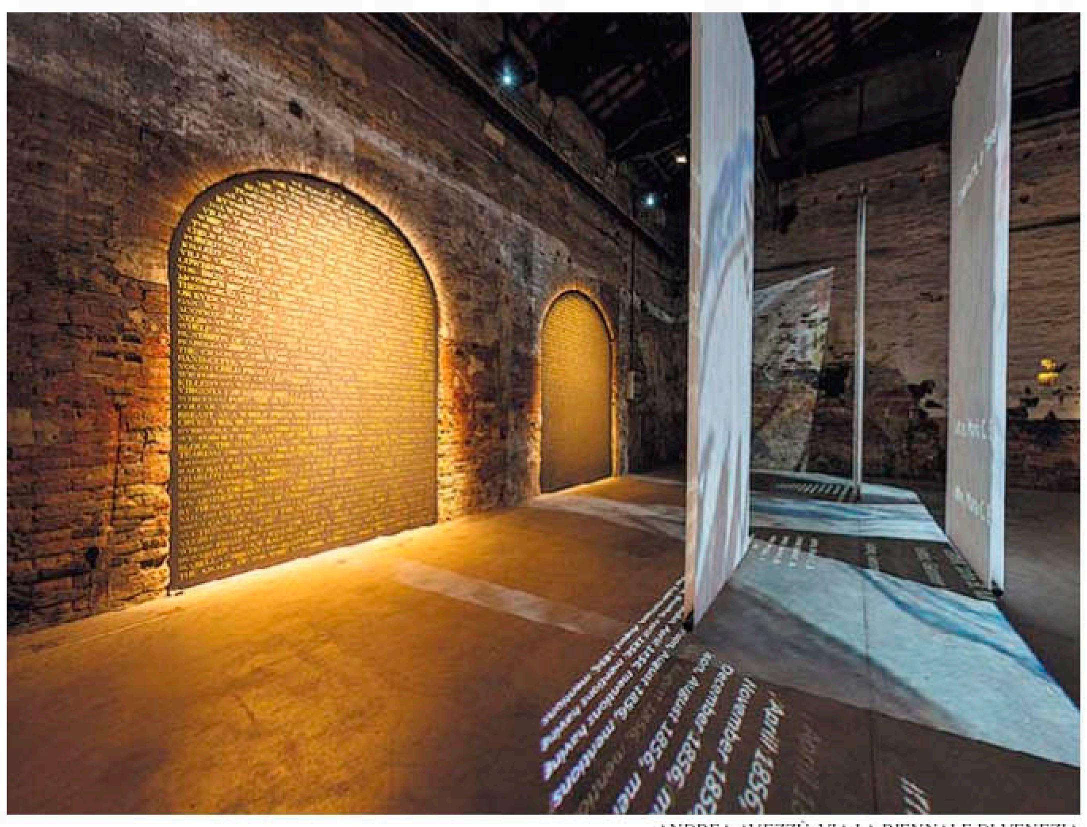
Dave Matthews, third from right, considers the problems in the world and inside his head on his band's latest studio album.

Dave Matthews Band
"Walk Around the Moon"
(Bama Rags/RCA)

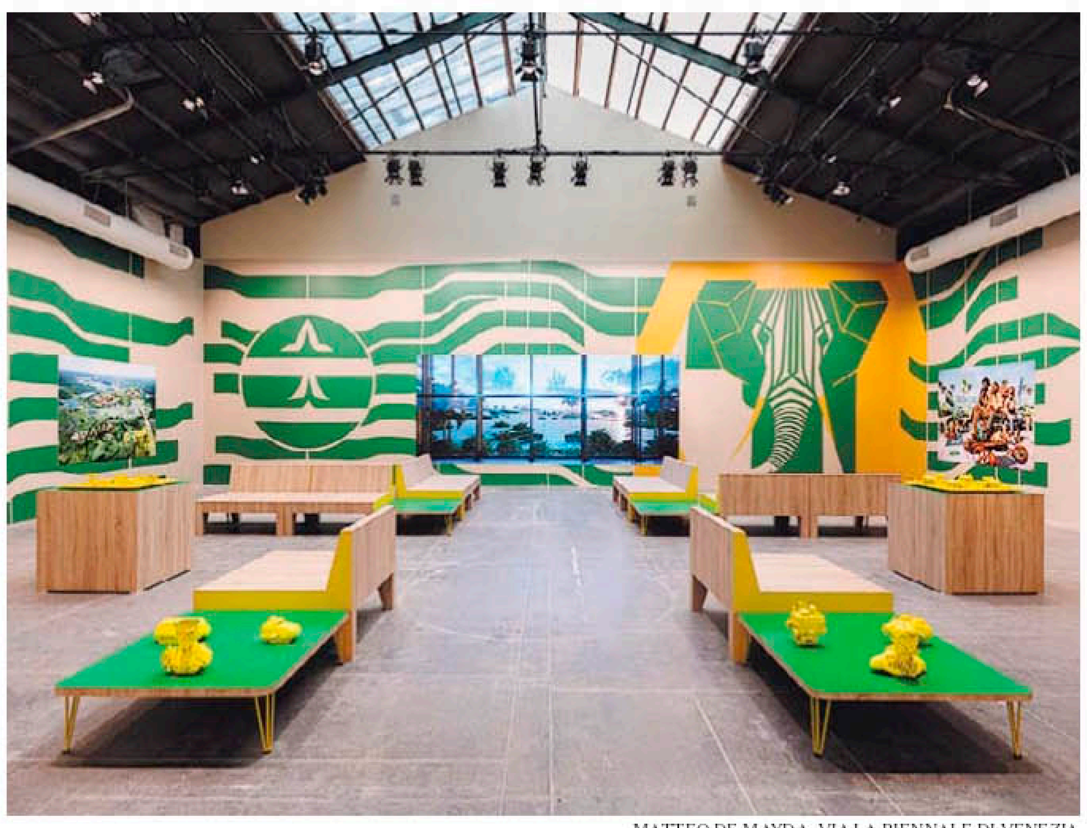
But he's well aware that love, in a happy domestic sphere, is just an individual refuge, not a global solution. "The world is going in all directions/Like bottles shattered on the floor," he sings in the elegiac "All You Ever Wanted Was Tomorrow." And he closes the album alone on acoustic guitar, with "Singing From the Windows." The song imagines being within a siege, thinking about "when the war is over" while watching fires and hearing sirens.

"None of us know what's to come tomorrow," he sings. "So dance with me like the time we've got is borrowed." Private comfort amid public catastrophe — it's only a modest consolation, but that's all there is.

CHRISTOPHER HAWTHORNE | ARCHITECTURE NOTEBOOK



ANDREA AVEZZÙ, VIA LA BIENNALE DI VENEZIA


MATTEO DE MAYDA, VIA LA BIENNALE DI VENEZIA

From left: The installation "unknown, unknown: A Space of Memory," by Mabel O. Wilson, J. Meejin Yoon and Eric Höweler, with Josh Begley and Gene Han, centers on Isabella Gibbons's enslavement in the 1850s at the University of Virginia; Rhael Cape, known as LionHeart, a spoken-word poet, has a big video near the start of the Biennale; "The Laboratory of the Future" offers a travel waiting lounge by Olalekan Jeyifous.

Africa Meets What's Next in Venice

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

bons, whose enslavement in the 1850s at the University of Virginia, surrounded by the neo-Classical architecture of the slave-owning Thomas Jefferson, is central to "unknown, unknown: A Space of Memory," an installation by the architects Mabel O. Wilson, J. Meejin Yoon and Eric Höweler. (This is the same team that designed the recent Memorial to Enslaved Laborers at the University of Virginia.) Mounted in an archway on the wall in gold-leaf lettering, behind a flickering series of video screens, is Gibbons's description of enslavement at the hands of one of the university's professors, William Barton Rogers, who later founded the Massachusetts Institute of Technology: "Can we forget the crack of the whip, cowhide, whipping post, the auction-block, the hand-cuffs, the spaniels, the iron collar, the Negro-trader tearing the young child from its mother's breast as a whelp from the lioness?"

The whipping post, the auction block, the backdrop of Jefferson's designs for campus buildings: The violent scene described on the gallery wall is one that played out in an undeniably architectural setting.

The sci-fi group includes the Nigerian-born, Brooklyn-based artist **Olalekan Jeyifous**, who fills one of the largest Biennale galleries with a sort of Pan-African fantasia, imagining a continent where "imperialist infrastructures devoted to economic exploitation and resource extraction" have been replaced by cooperative local efforts to advance green technologies. Jeyifous's installation, which ratchets up a color scheme of green and yellow to near-neon brightness, takes the form of a lounge for an "All-African Protoport" that allows zero-emissions air, land and sea travel across the continent and beyond.

Venice Architecture Biennale
Through Nov. 26 in Venice; labiennale.org.

In both cases the point is to challenge the West's assumption that it gets to be the narrator of every consequential history (architecture's own history included) and, as if that weren't enough, every vision of the future city. As Lokko puts it: "The 'story' of architecture is incomplete. Not wrong, but incomplete."

So don't be fooled by the exhibition's noncommittal title, seemingly composed for maximum inoffensiveness: "The Laboratory of the Future." In fact, Lokko is eager to use her Biennale post to make a series of pointed statements about how the design world has been reshaped by the Black Lives Matter movement and the pandemic — and to grapple with anxieties related to the climate crisis, economic precarity and the rise of artificial intelligence, among other deep wells of contemporary unease.

Like every Biennale, the exhibition is anchored by two huge central installations: one in industrial spaces at the Arsenale, the old shipbuilding yards; the other in a more museumlike setting inside the Giardini, or public gardens, which also house a series of national pavilions organized by their home countries.

"We were very interested in the relationship between architecture and what are often considered peripheral disciplines: people who are working at the urban scale, in landscape, in art practice," Lokko told me.

In that spirit she has given prominent space to the landscape architect **Walter Hood,** of Oakland, Calif., who teamed up with Alma Du Solier to plant a version of a South Carolina wetland in an outside pocket of the Giardini, and to **Eyal Weizman,** founder of Forensic Architecture, who alongside **David Wengrow** documents new archaeological explorations of 6,000-year-old settlements in what is now Ukraine. Their installation projects a video of this excavation site onto the gallery floor. Some of the settlements coming to light were marked by "a surprisingly light ecological footprint," the designers said, without any signs "of centralized control or social stratification."

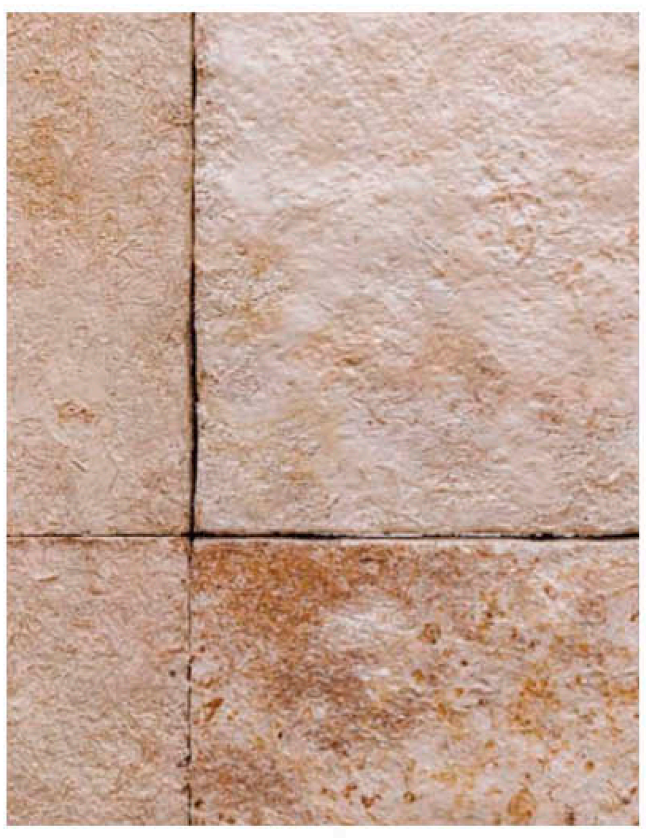
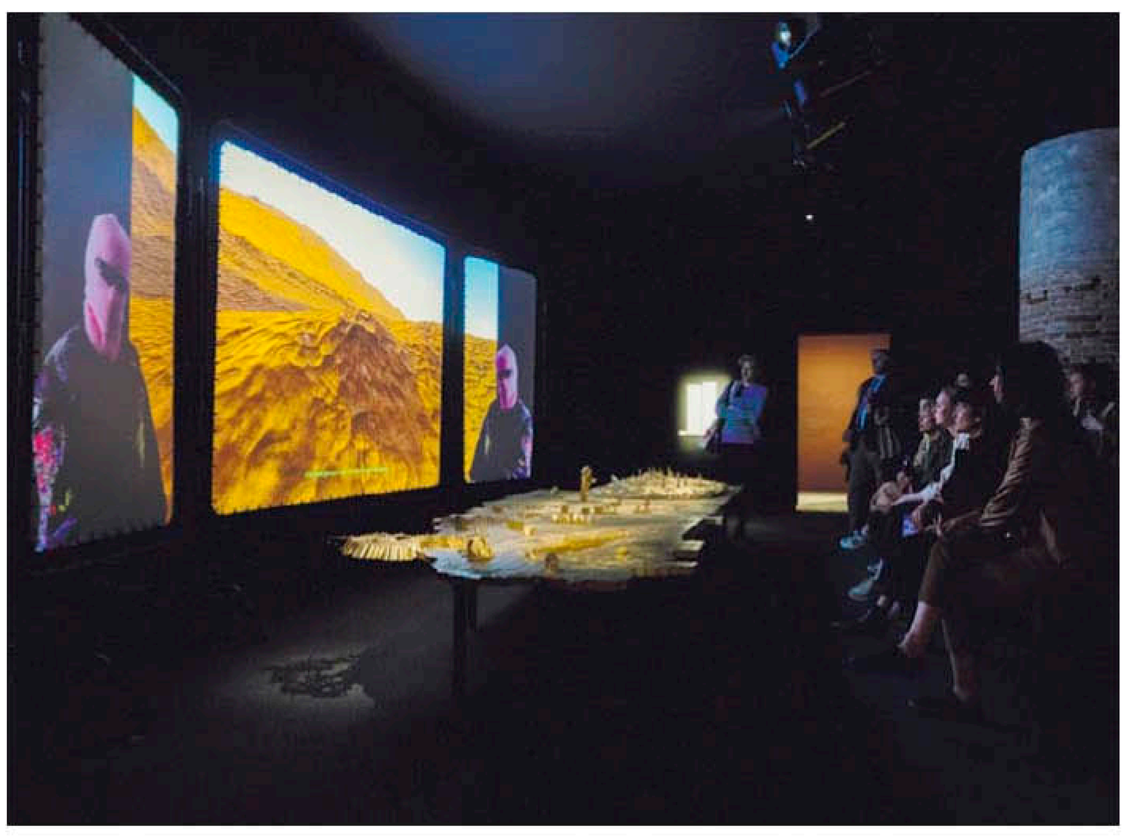
"If these ancient Ukrainian sites are cities," Wengrow and Weizman argue, "then our concept of 'the city' as rooted in a history of extraction, predation and hierarchy must also change."

In focusing in large part on architects from Africa and the African diaspora, Lokko has introduced a bracingly new lexicon and attention to buried and exiled histories. Her show offers a corrective to the self-satisfaction and narrow emphasis on a clique of big names that sometimes marks the Biennale.

In addition to decolonization and decarbonization — the twin themes around which the show pivots — subjects including collective labor movements, the inventive reuse of materials and buildings, migration, incarceration, storytelling and Indigenous forms of design practice (or what the Ghanaian British architect David Adjaye, a major presence in this Biennale, calls "lost knowledge systems") are underscored as never before.

For the first time in my experience here

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MATTEO DE MAYDA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise, from center: Germane Barnes created a monolithic "Identity Column" made from a single rippling piece of black marble; the Belgium Pavilion supports mycelium, found in mushrooms, as an alternative building material; at the United States Pavilion, Lauren Yeager stacked used coolers and other found items to create plastic totems; Spain's Grandeza Studio combines a gold-colored model with a video featuring costumed performers acting out a militant response to what it sees as destructive mining practices; a communal reading room at the Nordic Pavilion.

— over some 25 years — there is a frank exploration of the kind of architecture that is enabled by inherited wealth, what Lokko calls "generational means." Architectural nepo babies, you're on notice!

Every third or fourth Architecture Biennale, a curator argues that it's time to broaden the show's frame. Then the pendulum inevitably swings back toward a tighter disciplinary focus, as with Rem Koolhaas's 2014 Biennale, which he tellingly called "Fundamentals." Lokko's exhibition makes its case for a dramatically expanded view of the profession.

Not since Alejandro Aravena's version in 2016, with its emphasis on the global South, has the Biennale felt so communitarian, organic and close to the ground. High polish is out; a resourceful and sometimes hedonistic spirit, as well as frankness and dankness, are in, occasionally in ways that verge on counterculture cliché. The **Finnish Pavilion** features a composting dry toilet called a huussi. The excellent **Belgian** entry raises "the possibility of making an alliance with mushrooms, which can constitute a highly available, sustainable, renewable and inexpensive building material"; it includes a row of hemp-colored bricks fashioned out of mycelium, "the root-like nature of the fungus," and translucent panels made of "fungal leather." Mycelium reappears in an installation on synthetic biology by the designer **Natsai Audrey Chieza** in the main exhibition.

The **Dutch** have meticulously replumbed their landmark pavilion, designed in 1953 by Gerrit Rietveld, to collect rainwater. The **Brazilian Pavilion** — which argues that the establishment in the 1950s of that country's new, modernist capital, Brasília, was "a colonial invasion" of "the Indigenous nations of Central Brazil" — has a dirt floor and pedestals made of rammed earth. Split logs are turned into amphitheater seating in the **Nordic Pavilion**, arranged as a communal reading room exploring the architectural traditions of the Indigenous Sami people. Leaves are scattered meaningfully inside the **Uruguayan** and **Japanese pavilions**, as if a brisk and symbolic wind had just blown them in. Several other pavilions replace the typical architectural models and computer renderings with archives and ongoing public conversations about colonialism or (as in **Canada**'s rather overstuffed entry) gentrification and the prospect of reparations and land return for Indigenous communities.

In a related way part of this Biennale is about cleaning up messes left behind by wasteful predecessors, in architecture and elsewhere. The **German Pavilion** displays much of the construction waste — lumber, fabric and disembodied HVAC systems — produced by the Art Biennale in 2022; when I visited, a woman was carefully sewing a tote bag using some of this found material.

The **United States Pavilion** is also concerned with waste, of the not-so-fantastic plastic variety. Organized by the Cleveland nonprofit art center Spaces, and curated by Tizziana Baldenebro and Lauren Leving, it features artists who have repurposed various plastics — or petrochemical polymers, to use the formal name — into objects of playful, craftlike or camp display. One of them, Lauren Yeager, stacks used coolers and other found consumer items to create plastic totems: Brancusi à la Igloo. It's all in service of a critique of just how many "traces of plastics course through our veins, waterways, and air molecules." Compared with the most memorable pavilions this year, which are linked by a messy, raucous interest in communal experiments that draw visitors into their imagined worlds, this one feels inert, not nearly plastic enough. It also has relatively little to do with architecture.

The rhetoric supporting these installations can feel heavy-handed. The Congo-born artist Gloria Pavita, who lives and works in Cape Town, has heaped three giant piles of soil on the concrete floor of the Arsenale, alongside a text explaining that "soil is a body that holds and hosts the extractive, exploitative, and violent practices of the colonial and apartheid regimes."

But the bulk of Lokko's show has a lighter touch, along with a subtle choreography and generously multigenerational spirit. Awarding the Golden Lion for Lifetime Achievement to Demas Nwoko, 88, a Nigerian artist and architect, Lokko has also threaded throughout the main show the work of 22 emerging architects, a group she calls "Guests From the Future." Many of these younger architects, and other firms in the exhibition, are unsurprisingly angry about the ruined world they've inherited. **White Arkitekter**, from Sweden, ruefully notes that "'The Laboratory of the Future' comes at a time when any imagined future looks bleak."

One of the weirdest and most provocative expressions of this attitude comes from Spain's **Grandeza Studio,** in the main exhibition, which contributes a gold-colored model and an entertainingly militant video exploring possible responses to destructive mining practices in the Pilbara, an arid section of Western Australia. Wearing a range of costumes, masks, balaclavas and space helmets and holding a giant prop shotgun, the group makes up a kind of ragtag revolutionary force of eco-warriors.

Among the questions they raise is what might happen to organized labor once artificial intelligence takes over. "Can algorithms strike?" the video asks.

If this Biennale has a blind spot, it's in not fully confronting the possibility that the young architects it spotlights may find it tricky to separate themselves from — or avoid being sidelined by — the larger multinational machine of architectural production, which continues to hum voraciously along. In the show's catalog, Rahel Shawl, founder of Addis Ababa-based Raas Architects, optimistically reports that in "Ethiopia alone, the construction industry is projected to grow at an annual average rate of more than 8 percent to 2026. It is an exciting time for African architects and design professionals."

I imagine that Lokko, were she to encounter this kind of marketing-speak outside her own exhibition, might have some questions: How much of this anticipated construction work will be carried out by the usual Western (or Chinese) design and engineering conglomerates? Where will the building materials come from? Who will profit?

The echoes of the pandemic in the show are limited but impossible to ignore. Lokko calls one section "Force Majeure," a legal phrase that wealthy institutions leaned on after the arrival of Covid-19 to slip out of contracts and other obligations. Near the entrance to the Arsenale galleries, the American architect **Germane Barnes** has installed a series of busts, sitting atop marble pedestals, that wear futuristic masks, some resembling gas masks and others N95s.

Barnes's entry also reflects some of this Biennale's interest in resetting architectural practice according to a less restrictive and more global set of priorities. The centerpiece of his contribution is a solitary monolithic "Identity Column," under a bright spotlight, made from a single rippling piece of black marble. The column, according to Barnes, "demands a reorientation of foundational principles" in architecture, "one that positions Africa and its descendants as a force to be acknowledged and revered."

Lokko's show sometimes gives in to the temptation to include more architects, more images, more wall text than any visitor can realistically be expected to absorb.

There are more than a few sections that feel oversaturated, to pick a fitting metaphor for Venice, where climate change laps at every canal-side palazzo and vaporetto stop. Yet that makes sense when you consider that she is making up for lost time, restaging ideas about architecture and city-making that have been overlooked at the Biennale for far too many years. There is a palpable feeling in the show that dams have broken, at long last, producing the exhibition's own acqua alta. Lokko succeeds admirably at shaping and directing the flows, but a flood is a flood.

3 MIND

Sad songs have a strong appeal, and researchers try to figure out why.

4 PUBLIC HEALTH

Tanzania faces challenges in its effort to inoculate girls against HPV.

6 WELL

Is reading in the dark bad? Assessing this and other beliefs about eyesight.

ScienceTimes

The New York Times

TUESDAY, MAY 23, 2023 D1

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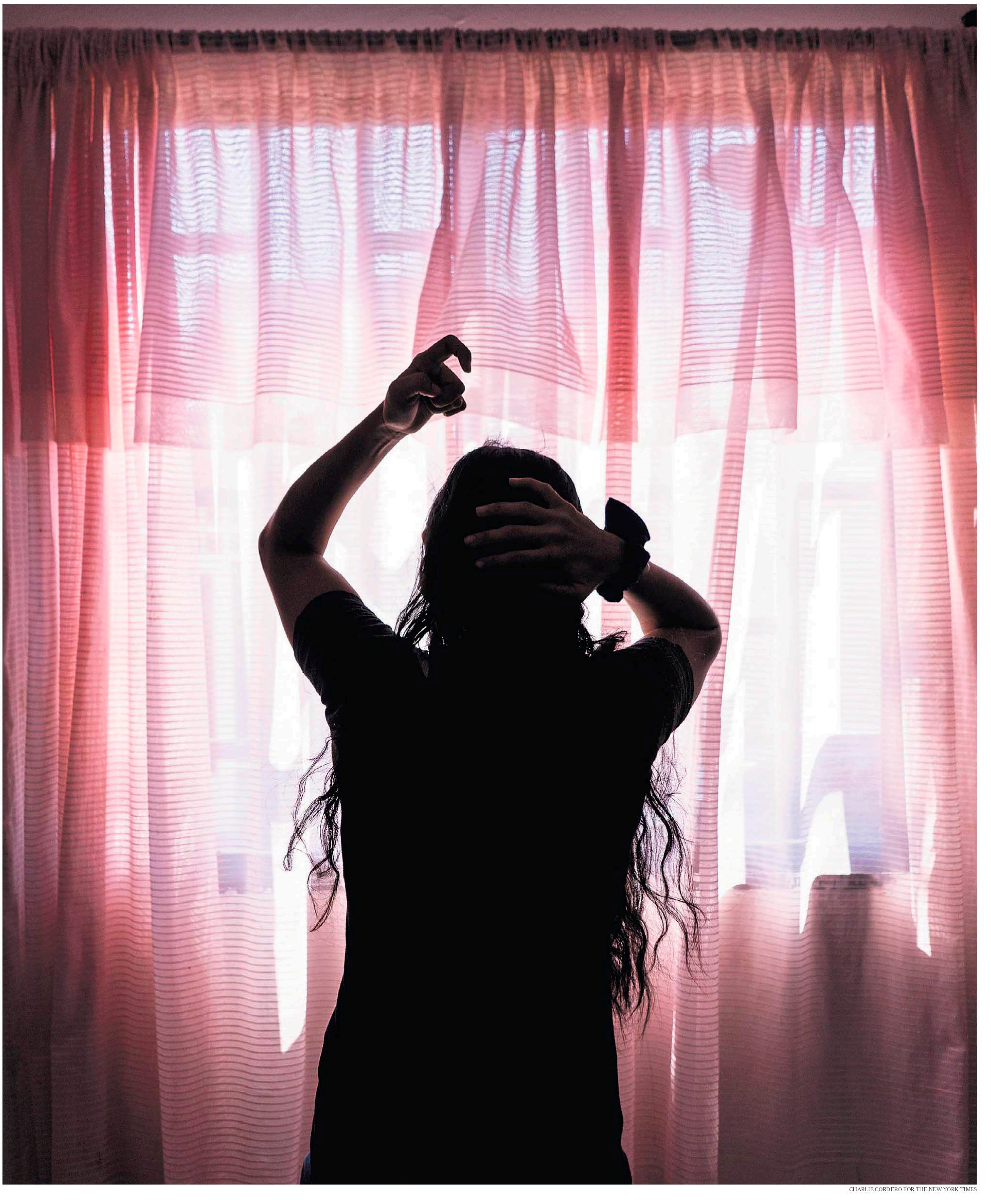


CHARLIE CORDERO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Maripaz Ariza at home in the town of Puerto Colombia. Her symptoms of Huntington's, a hereditary neurodegenerative disease, emerged seven years ago, when she was pregnant with her daughter.

The Forgotten

Years ago, researchers contacted ailing families in Colombia for insights into Huntington's disease. They are just now following up.

By JENNIE ERIN SMITH

José Echeverría spends restless days in a metal chair reinforced with boards and padded with a piece of foam that his mother, Nohora Vásquez, adjusts constantly for his comfort. The chair is coming loose and will soon fall apart. Huntington's disease, which causes José to move his head and limbs uncontrollably, has already left one bed frame destroyed. At 42, he is still strong.

José's sister Nohora Esther Echeverría, 37, lives with her mother and brother. Just two years into her illness, her symptoms are milder than his, but she is afraid to walk around her town's steep streets, knowing she could fall. A sign on the front door advertises rum for sale that does not exist. The family's scarce resources now go to food — José and Nohora Esther must eat frequently or they will rapidly lose weight — and medical supplies, like a costly cream for Jose's skin.

Huntington's is a hereditary neurodegenerative disease caused by excess repetitions of three building blocks of DNA — cytosine, adenine and guanine — on a gene called huntingtin. The mutation results in a toxic version of a key brain protein, and a person's age at the onset of symptoms relates, roughly, to the number of repetitions the person carries. Early symptoms can include mood disturbances — Ms. Vásquez remembers how her husband, now deceased, had chased the children out of their beds, forcing her to sleep with them in the woods — and subtle involuntary movements, like the rotations of

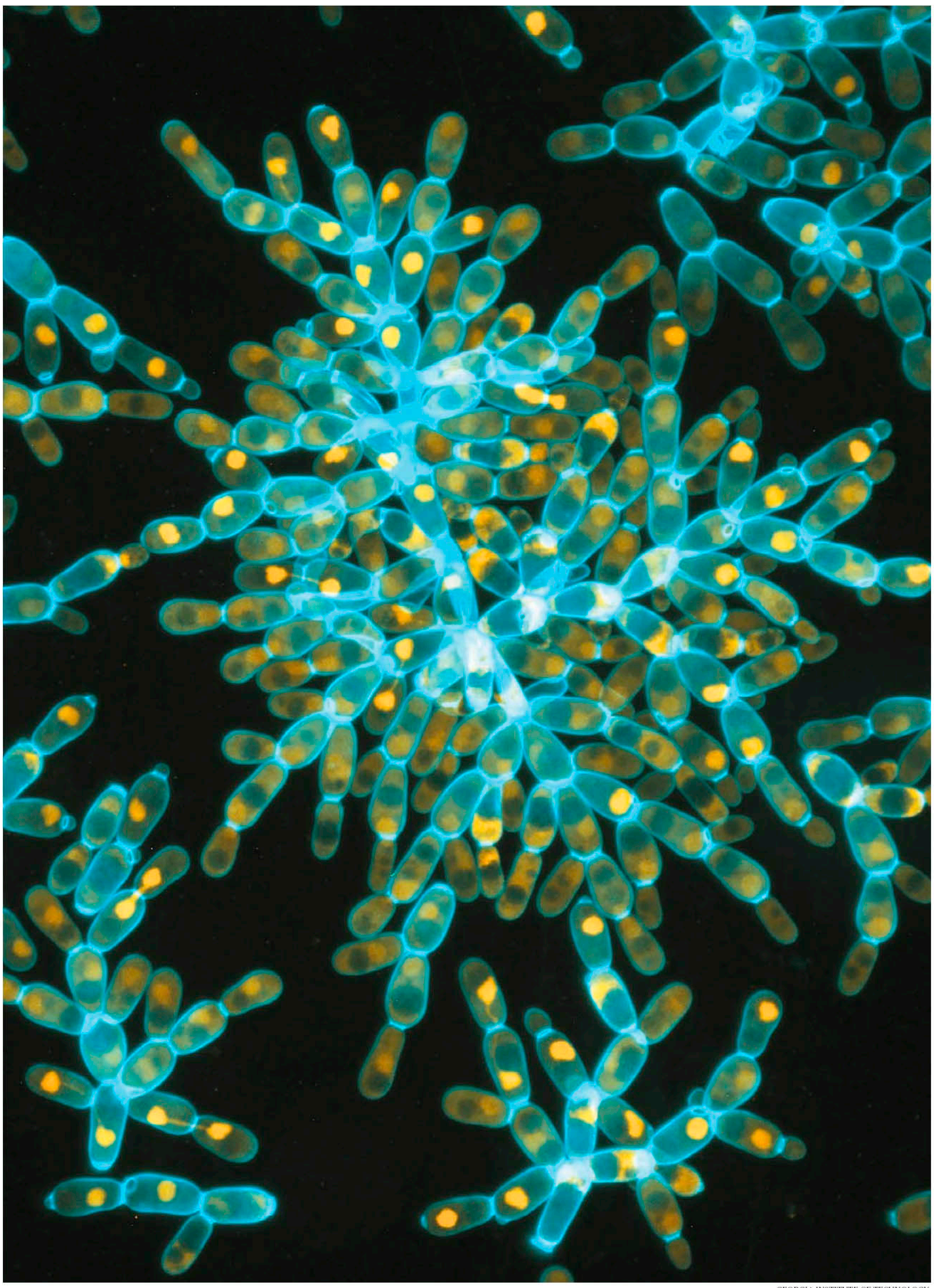
CONTINUED ON PAGE D5

Observatory

FINDINGS, EVENTS AND MORE

ORIGINAL SPIN

To Study Life's Origins, Creating Some Snowflakes To See How They Evolve



GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

In a lab in Atlanta, thousands of yeast cells fight for their lives every day. The ones that live another day grow fastest, reproduce quickest and form the biggest clumps. For about a decade, the cells have evolved to hang onto one another, forming branching snowflake shapes.

These snowflakes are at the heart of experiments exploring what might have happened when single-celled creatures first banded together to become multicellular. That process, however it went down, eventually resulted in fabulously weird organisms like octopuses and ostriches and humans.

Although multicellularity is thought to have evolved at least 20 times in the history of life on Earth, it is far from obvious how living things go from a single cell to many that share a fate. But, in a new paper, researchers reveal one clue to how cells could start building themselves into a body. The team that produced the snowflake yeast found that over 3,000 generations, the yeast clumps grew so large that they could be seen with the naked eye.

Will Ratcliff, a professor at Georgia Tech, began the yeast experiments when he was in graduate school. He was inspired by Richard Lenski, a biologist at Michigan State University, and his colleagues who have grown 12 vials of E. coli through more than 75,000 generations, documenting since 1988 how the populations have changed. Dr. Ratcliff wondered if an evolution study encouraging cells to stick together could shed light on the origins of multicellularity.

So he set up a simple experiment. Every day, he swirled yeast cells in a test tube, sucked up the ones that sank to the bottom quickest, then used them to grow the next day's population of yeast. He reasoned that if he selected for the heaviest individuals or clumps of cells, there would be an incentive for the yeast to evolve a way to stick together.

And it worked: Within 60 days, the snowflake yeast appeared. When these yeast divide, thanks to a mutation, they don't fully separate from one another. Instead they form branching structures of genetically identical cells. The yeast had become multicellular. *VERONIQUE GREENWOOD*

FABIAN ET AL., BIORXIV 2023

FLAMING OUT

Why Are Insects Drawn to Light? The Answer Isn't Easy to See.

Insects are drawn to lights at night as reliably as planets orbit stars. Entomologists have exploited this by setting out light traps to collect insects, and poets have used the image of a moth drawn to flame to signify self-destructive behavior. Ecologists worry the lure of artificial lights may help explain why insects are in global decline. But it's still unclear why insects find light so appealing.

The Harvard biologist Avalon Owen said that one prevailing theory, popular but flawed, was that insects confused porch lights for the moon or another celestial body, scrambling their sense of navigation. Another idea is that night lights look like glimpses of daylight through a thicket of vegetation, prompting insects to try to make a beeline toward what they think is open space.

Now there is a new possible answer. A team led by Samuel Fabian at Imperial College London and Yash Sondhi at Florida International University say that when insects see a light at night, they believe they've found the sky's direction and try to orient themselves along an up-and-down axis. That prompts them to roll their backs toward the light, mistakenly in cases when the illumination is on the ground, causing them to go into endless turns like a tiny airplane or to crash-land. *JOSHUA SOKOL*

CARLOS HENRIQUE DE-OLIVEIRA-NOGUEIRA

PECULIAR POLLINATORS

Fruitarian Frogs Give Flowers a Jump-Start

On warm evenings near Rio de Janeiro, you might find milk fruit trees covered in brownish-orange frogs. While many frogs eat insects, the tree frog species Xenohyla truncata has a taste for the pulp of bulbous fruits and the nectar in the tree's flowers.

As they seek that nectar, the frogs dunk their entire bodies (as shown above) into the plant's flowers, only their butts sticking out. When they emerge, pollen gets stuck to their heads and backs. Then they hop off, potentially transporting the pollen from their previous stop at the tropical buffet into the next milk fruit flower they encounter.

In other words, the frogs may disperse the plant's seeds and pollinate its flowers — which would be the first time this has been seen in an amphibian.

"That's completely, completely new, till now, nobody saw them actually doing that," said Luís Felipe Toledo, head of the Amphibians Natural History Lab at the University of Campinas in Brazil and an author of a study suggesting the existence of this ecological relationship between frog and flowering tree.

"This is a very exciting and intriguing first observation," said Ruth Cozien, an expert on plant-animal interactions at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa who was not involved in the study. She said more observations were needed to confirm pollination, but called the early evidence "incredible." *SOFIA QUAGLIA*

CORY FULTS

DEEP DIVERS

Down in the Frigid Depths, These Sharks Hold Their Breaths

Hammerhead sharks like it warm, but for a good meal they're willing to get cold. The flat-headed predators dive more than 2,600 feet from tropical surface waters into the ocean's frigid depths multiple times every night to hunt for fish and squid, tolerating a 68-degree Fahrenheit plunge in temperature to dine.

How do these coldblooded chondrichthyans tolerate these temperatures without turning into frozen fish? A new study shows how one species, Sphyrna lewini or scalloped hammerhead sharks, stay warm during their nightly dives: They skip the frills and close their gills, essentially holding their breath.

This strategy for regulating a coldblooded fish's temperature has never been observed before and distinguishes them from high-performance fish (yes, that's the scientific term) like great white sharks or Atlantic bluefin tuna that use vastly different strategies to tolerate extreme cold.

Mark Royer, a shark biologist in Hawaii, was inspired to investigate the scalloped hammerhead's secret heating technique after noticing how deep they were diving. He attached a package of sensors near the dorsal fins of six hammerheads near Hawaii.

He and his team found that the hammerheads lose a little body heat when they start their descent, but then quickly return to the same temperatures they were at the surface as they swim deeper. Even when the surrounding water was as cold as 39 degrees Fahrenheit, the sharks had body temperatures around 75 degrees during hourlong dives. *DARREN INCORVAIA*

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'This is, in my opinion, a public health emergency because of the breadth of the individuals it affects and the number of chemotherapy agents that are in shortage right now.'

Dr. Amanda Fader, a professor at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, on a growing number of drug shortages, including cancer medications.

THE NEW OLD AGE | PAULA SPAN

Relocating Is a Monumental Task for Many Seniors

Move managers can help older Americans and their families sort through their belongings.

CHONA KASINGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bonnie Rae Nygren, left, with Rebecca Ricards of RR Move Co. in Ms. Nygren's parents' kitchen. Ms. Nygren said her parents were reluctant at first to hire help for their move.

THE FOUR-BEDROOM HOUSE that Ray and Beth Nygren had lived in for 20 years in Auburn, Wash., measured about 2,400 square feet. The two-bedroom apartment that awaited them in a nearby independent- and assisted-living complex was less than half that size.

They were moving — "maybe a little reluctantly," said their daughter, Bonnie Rae Nygren — because each had undergone heart-valve replacement surgery last year, and Beth Nygren had suffered complications. The single step from living room to dining room, or down to the family room, had become difficult for her to manage using a walker.

She'd already taken a fall. "They considered it a very minor thing, but it was really eye-opening for us," Bonnie Rae said. "One more fall could make a huge difference in their lives."

The couple's three children suggested that with Beth, 85, coping with multiple sclerosis and Ray, 87, contending with heart failure, "maybe it was time to downsize and move to a retirement community," Bonnie Rae said.

Earlier this year, the family began sorting through 65 years of possessions. "Digging in, we realized how much stuff they had," Ms. Nygren recalled. "How many towels do you need? What dishes do you want to take? What pictures do you want on the walls? And, what about the things you can't take?" The process felt overwhelming.

The family had never heard of senior move managers until the retirement facility recommended a few, including RR Move Co.

The elder Nygrens almost balked when the owner, Rebecca Ricards, walked through their house, talked with them about their concerns, took lots of photos — and quoted a price of $5,400 for planning the move, packing their belongings and setting up the new residence, including the moving van and movers.

But reassured by her experience and confidence, they hired her, with their son contributing a chunk of the costs.

About 1,100 such companies belong to the National Association of Senior & Specialty Move Managers, which offers training and certification, and requires members to carry liability insurance and adhere to a code of ethics.

Depending on client needs, move managers' services include sorting and organizing belongings, working with a moving company and using a floor plan to determine what can fit where in the new residence.

They prepare the new home, from spices in the cabinets to towels on the racks; they can sell, donate or dispose of what's left behind. Though Ms. Ricards charges by the job, most move managers charge $65 to $125 an hour, with big regional variations, said Mary Kay Buysse, the association's co-executive director.

That's not within everyone's means, but most clients are moving into private-pay senior living facilities, often after selling a house, and can afford the additional expense. Clients with smaller budgets may be able to purchase some services, not the whole package. Family members may also help shoulder the costs.

"It's not just packing and unpacking," Ms. Buysse said. "It's working with the clients and the family for weeks or months, going through a lifetime of possessions. You need to be a good listener."

Older people relocate far less frequently than younger ones. A Census Bureau report in 2022 found that from 2015 to 2019, about 6.2 percent of the population over age 65 had moved in a given year, compared with about 15 percent of the younger population. Still, senior migration topped three million adults a year. The rate increased among those over age 85 and those with a disability.

The most common reasons for moving? Living closer to family members topped the list, especially among those 75 and older, according to a survey published in the Journal of the American Planning Association last year. Respondents also cited better neighborhoods and reduced housing costs.

Though senior move managers often work with adult children to help move their parents, the industry is seeing an uptick in younger seniors hiring managers for themselves, Ms. Buysse added.

A New York native, Alissa Ballot had already downsized from a house in Florida to a Chicago apartment when, in 2021, she decided "it was time to move home." But selling her place in Chicago while finding an apartment in New York during the pandemic became "nervous breakdown time," said Ms. Ballot, 67, a retired lawyer. "There were all these balls up in the air — a few balls too many."

Dawson Relocation Services in Chicago charged her less than $1,000 (at $65 an hour) to coordinate the move. "I was able to set a date to get on a plane with a few suitcases and leave everything else to them," Ms. Ballot said. "It was a miracle."

She unpacked on her own, but she didn't have to return to clean out and close up her Chicago apartment. Marnie Dawson even helped her file claims when the movers dinged a couple of Ms. Ballot's possessions.

(Besides senior move managers, real estate agents, attorneys, senior living staffs and others can be "certified relocation and transition specialists." About 1,000 individuals have passed this credentialing exam, said Donna Surges Tatum, chair of the Certified Relocation & Transition Specialist Certification Board. The National Association of Realtors also designates "senior real estate specialists.")

Relocating older adults involves particular challenges. Unlike younger movers, they're generally shifting into smaller, not larger, spaces — after decades more time to accumulate stuff. And their families, for better or worse, are often involved.

A move manager has to be a social worker in part. "We're sometimes dealing with people with cognitive issues. Family dynamics come into play," said Diane Bjorkman, whose company serving the Twin Cities, Gentle Transitions, is one of the country's oldest and largest senior move management company.

A nonjudgmental professional can often calm tensions. "It's not you telling your mom, 'Don't take the torn recliner,'" Ms. Bjorkman said. "It's someone else saying, 'Maybe another chair would work better.'"

My sister and I hired a senior move manager for our father, who was moving into an independent living apartment, when it became clear that discussing matters like precisely how many identical plastic flashlights he needed could consume months. We deferred to a third party.

'It's not you telling your mom, "Don't take the torn recliner."'

DIANE BJORKMAN
GENTLE TRANSITIONS
SPECIAL RELOCATION SERVICES

Still, in the end, the client decides. One woman who hadn't cooked for 20 years insisted that she needed to hold on to a particular roasting pan, Ms. Bjorkman recalled. The woman also argued that, as someone who remembered the Depression, a freestanding freezer was a crucial source of comfort — even if it was full of expired food.

The roasting pan could be disassembled to fit under the bed in the new apartment, Ms. Bjorkman said. The freezer — still packed with food — served as a living room side table.

The Nygrens made no such unusual requests. Their children handled the weeks of sorting and paring, and Ray Nygren — a retired engineer — drew detailed schematics of the new apartment, showing where items should go.

RR Move Co. did the rest, packing one day in March and moving them into their new apartment the next. At about 6 p.m., Ms. Ricards and her crew phoned the family to say they were ready for what she calls "the big reveal."

"We walked in, and it was like walking into your home," Beth Nygren said, getting weepy on the phone. There were no boxes in sight. The move managers had made the beds, set the clocks, made sure Ray's computer was operational.

"Everything was in place: clothes in the closet, pictures on the wall, stuff in the drawers," Ms. Nygren said. "You could just start living."

MIND

Sad Songs Say So Much About Connection

Emotional expression may be only part of why we appreciate unhappy music, a study finds.

By OLIVER WHANG

PABLO DELCAN

When Joshua Knobe was younger, he knew an indie rock musician who sang sorrowful, "heart-rending things that made people feel terrible," he recalled recently. At one point he came across a YouTube video, set to her music, that had a suicidal motif. "That was the theme of her music," he said, adding, "So I had this sense of puzzlement by it, because I also felt like it had this tremendous value."

This is the paradox of sad music: We generally don't enjoy being sad in real life, but we do enjoy art that makes us feel that way. Countless scholars since Aristotle have tried to account for it. Maybe we experience a catharsis of negative emotions through music. Maybe there's an evolutionary advantage in it, or maybe we're socially conditioned to appreciate our own suffering. Maybe our bodies produce hormones in response to the fragmentary malaise of the music, creating a feeling of consolation.

Dr. Knobe is now an experimental philosopher and psychologist at Yale University — and is married to that indie rock musician who sang those heart-wrenching songs. In a new study, published in The Journal of Aesthetic Education, he and some colleagues sought to tackle this paradox by asking what sad music is all about.

Over the years, Dr. Knobe's research has found that people often form two conceptions of the same thing, one concrete and one abstract. For example, people could be considered artists if they display a concrete set of features, like being technically gifted with a brush. But if they do not exhibit certain abstract values — if, say, they lack creativity, curiosity or passion and simply recreate old masterpieces for quick profit — one could say that, in another sense, they are not artists. Maybe sad songs have a similarly dual nature, thought Dr. Knobe and his former student Tara Venkatesan, a cognitive scientist and operatic soprano.

Certainly, research has found that our emotional response to music is multidimensional; you're not just happy when you listen to a beautiful song, nor simply made sad by a sad one. In 2016, a survey of 363 listeners found that emotional responses to sad songs fell roughly into three categories: grief, including powerful negative feelings like anger, terror and despair; melancholia, a gentle sadness, longing or self-pity; and sweet sorrow, a pleasant pang of consolation or appreciation. Many respondents described a mix of the three. (The researchers called their study "Fifty Shades of Blue.")

Given the layers of emotion and the imprecision of language, it's perhaps no wonder that sad music lands as a paradox. But it still doesn't really explain why it can feel pleasurable or meaningful.

Some psychologists have examined how certain aspects of music — mode, tempo, rhythm, timbre — relate to the emotions listeners feel. Studies have found that certain forms of song serve nearly universal functions: Across countries and cultures, for instance, lullabies tend to share similar acoustic features that imbue infants and adults alike with a sense of safety.

"All our lives we've learned to map the relationships between our emotions and what we sound like," said Tuomas Eerola, a musicologist at Durham University in England and a researcher on the "Fifty Shades" study. "We recognize emotional expression in speech, and most of the cues are used similarly in music."

Other scientists, including Patrik Juslin, a music psychologist at Uppsala University in Sweden, argue that such findings clarify little about the value of sad music. He wrote in a paper, "They simply move the burden of explanation from one level, 'Why does the second movement of Beethoven's Eroica symphony arouse sadness?,' to another level, 'Why does a slow tempo arouse sadness?'"

Instead, Dr. Juslin and others have proposed that there are cognitive mechanisms through which sadness can be induced in listeners. Unconscious reflexes in the brain stem; the synchronization of rhythm to some internal cadence, such as a heartbeat; conditioned responses to particular sounds; triggered memories; emotional contagion; a reflective evaluation of the music — all seem to play some role. Maybe, because sadness is such an intense emotion, its presence can prompt a positive empathic reaction: Feeling someone's sadness can move you in some prosocial way.

"You're feeling just alone, you feel isolated," Dr. Knobe said. "And then there's this experience where you listen to some music, or you pick up a book, and you feel like you're not so alone."

'You listen to some music, or you pick up a book, and you feel like you're not so alone.'

JOSHUA KNOBE
YALE UNIVERSITY

To test that hypothesis, he, Dr. Venkatesan and George Newman, a psychologist at the Rotman School of Management, set up a two-part experiment. In the first part, they gave one of four song descriptions to more than 400 subjects. One description was of a song that "conveys deep and complex emotions" but was also "technically very flawed." Another described a "technically flawless" song that "does not convey deep or complex emotions." The third song was described as deeply emotional and technically flawless, and the fourth as technically flawed and unemotional.

The subjects were asked to indicate, on a seven-point scale, whether their song "embodies what music is all about." The goal was to clarify how important emotional expression in general — of joy, sadness, hatred or whatever — was to music on an intuitive level. On the whole, subjects reported that deeply emotional but technically flawed songs best reflected the essence of music; emotional expression was a more salient value than technical proficiency.

In the second part of the experiment, involving 450 new subjects, the researchers gave each participant 72 descriptions of emotional songs that expressed feelings including "contempt," "narcissism," "inspiration" and "lustfulness." For comparison, they also gave participants prompts that described a conversational interaction in which someone expressed their feelings. (For example: "An acquaintance is talking to you about their week and expresses feelings of wistfulness.") On the whole, the emotions that subjects felt were deeply rooted to "what music is all about" were also those that made people feel more connected to one another in conversation: love, joy, loneliness, sadness, ecstasy, calmness, sorrow.

Mario Attie-Picker, a philosopher at Loyola University Chicago who helped lead the research, found the results compelling. After considering the data, he proposed a relatively simple idea: Maybe we listen to music not for an emotional reaction — many subjects reported that sad music, albeit artistic, was not particularly enjoyable — but for the sense of connection to others. Applied to the paradox of sad music: Our love of the music is not a direct appreciation of sadness, it's an appreciation of connection. Dr. Knobe and Dr. Venkatesan were quickly on board.

"I'm a believer already," Dr. Eerola said when he was alerted to the study. In his own research, he has found that particularly empathetic people are more likely to be moved by unfamiliar sad music. "They're willing to engage in this kind of fictional sadness that the music is bringing them," he said. These people also display more significant hormonal changes in response to sad music.

But sad music is layered — it's an onion — and this explanation prompts more questions. With whom are we connecting? The artist? Our past selves? An imaginary person? And how can sad music be "all about" anything? Doesn't the power of art derive, in part, from its ability to transcend summary, to expand experience?

One by one, the researchers acknowledged the complexity of their subject, and the limitations of existing work. And then Dr. Attie-Picker offered a less philosophical argument for their results: "It just feels right," he said.

A Vaccine to Protect California Condors

Emergency approval may help stop a flu virus that is killing the critically endangered birds.

By EMILY ANTHES

Federal officials have granted emergency approval to a bird flu vaccine for use in California condors, an agency of the U.S. Department of Agriculture announced last week.

The move comes after more than a dozen of the birds, which are critically endangered, recently died from the virus, known as H5N1. Worldwide, there are fewer than 600 California condors, which can have wingspans of nearly 10 feet. The emergency approval is "an attempt to prevent additional deaths of these birds," said the agency, the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service.

The vaccine was initially developed for a different version of avian influenza, and the condors will not begin receiving it right away. Three federal agencies — the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the U.S. Geological Survey — are now working together to test the vaccine in black vultures, a species related to California condors. Twenty vultures in North Carolina received the shots last Tuesday, the agencies said in a joint email.

If the results are promising, the next step will be to vaccinate 25 captive condors, they said.

The virus was first detected in a California condor found dead in late March. Since then, 20 more condors have died and four additional condors are currently in rehabilitation facilities, according to the federal agency. The virus has been confirmed in 15 of those birds.

Condors appear to be "highly susceptible" to the virus, said Dr. Carlos Sanchez, the head veterinarian at the Oregon Zoo, which has a condor breeding program. "Once they get it," he said, "they tend to have high mortality."

California condor populations dropped precipitously during the 20th century; in the 1980s, fewer than 30 birds were left. In the decades since, captive breeding programs have helped the population recover. If the virus gets into more condor populations, it could erase this progress, Dr. Sanchez said: "We're talking about a potential catastrophic collapse of the conservation project."

RICHARD VOGEL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A California condor at the Los Angeles Zoo. There are only about 600 of them worldwide; more than a dozen have recently died from a dangerous variation of bird flu.

The H5N1 virus was first detected in China in 1996. Since then, various versions of the virus have circulated in wild birds and caused repeated outbreaks in poultry. A new version of the virus arrived in North America in late 2021. Since then, it has spread rapidly throughout the United States, causing the largest bird flu outbreak in the nation's history and resulting in the death of almost 60 million farmed birds.

It has also taken a far heavier toll on wild birds than previous outbreaks. It has been detected in more than 6,700 wild birds — a figure that is surely an underestimate — in every state but Hawaii and has resulted in mass die-offs of wild birds around the world.

It has also repeatedly spilled over into mammals and caused a small number of human infections, generally in people who were known to have been in close contact with birds. The virus is best adapted to birds, and the threat to the general public remains low, officials say. But scientists have long been concerned that the virus could evolve in ways that help it spread easily among people.

The small size of the existing California condor population will allow the vaccination program to be monitored closely, the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service said. Federal officials have not authorized the vaccine for use in other birds.

But the size and scope of the current outbreak have prompted officials to consider a mass poultry vaccination campaign. Agriculture Department scientists have been testing numerous potential poultry vaccines and have said that some results could be available this spring.

The country could see more animal outbreaks in the coming weeks as infected wild birds migrate north for the summer.

Tanzania Strains to Save Girls From Cervical Cancer

A vaccine to fend off the disease faces rumors, religious unease and supply obstacles.

By STEPHANIE NOLEN

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ESTHER RUTH MBABAZI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA — When the health workers arrived at Upendo Primary School on the edge of the Tanzanian capital, they instructed girls who would turn 14 this year to line up to get a shot.

One of the girls, Quinn Chengo, held an urgent, whispered consultation with her friends. What was the injection for, really? Could it be a Covid vaccine? (They had heard rumors about that.) Or was it meant to keep them from having babies?

Ms. Chengo was uneasy, but she remembered that last year her sister got this shot, for the human papillomavirus. So she got in the line. Some girls sneaked away, though, and hid behind the school buildings. When some of Ms. Chengo's friends arrived home that evening, they faced questions from their parents, who worried that it might make their children feel more comfortable with the idea of having sex — even if some didn't want to come right out and say so.

The HPV vaccine, which offers near-total protection against the sexually transmitted virus that causes cervical cancer, has been given to adolescents in the United States and other industrialized countries for almost 20 years. But it is only now starting to be widely introduced in low-income countries, where 90 percent of cervical cancer deaths occur.

Tanzania's experience — with misinformation, with cultural and religious discomfort, and with supply and logistical obstacles — highlights some of the challenges countries face in carrying out what is seen a critical health intervention in the region.

Screening and treatment for cancer are limited in Tanzania; the shot could sharply reduce deaths from cervical cancer, the deadliest cancer for Tanzanian women.

HPV vaccination efforts have been hampered across Africa for years. Many countries had devised programs to begin in 2018, working with Gavi, a global organization that supplies vaccines to low-income nations. But Gavi was unable to procure shots for them.

In the United States, the HPV vaccine costs about $250; Gavi, which typically negotiates big discounts from pharmaceutical companies, was aiming to pay $3 to $5 per shot for the large volumes of vaccine it sought to procure. But because high-income nations were also expanding their programs, the vaccine makers — Merck and GlaxoSmithKline — targeted those markets, leaving little for developing countries.

"Even though we had been very vocal about the supply we needed from manufacturers, that wasn't coming through," said Aurélia Nguyen, Gavi's chief strategy officer. "And so we had 22 million girls that countries had asked to be vaccinated for whom we had no supply at that time. That was a very painful situation."

Low-income countries have had to make a decision about where to allot the limited quantities of vaccine they have received. Tanzania chose to first target 14-year-olds who, as the oldest eligible girls, were seen as most likely to start sexual activity. Girls begin to drop out at that age, before the transition to secondary school; the country had planned to deliver the vaccines mostly in schools.

But vaccinating a teenager for HPV is not like delivering a measles shot to a baby, said Dr. Florian Tinuga, program manager for the immunization and vaccine development unit at the Ministry of Health. Fourteen-year-olds must be convinced. Yet because they're not yet adults, parents have to be won over, too. That means having frank discussions about sex, a sensitive matter in the country.

And because the 14-year-olds were seen as young women almost old enough for marriage, rumors have spread fast on social media and messaging apps about what is really in the shot: Could it be a stealth birth control campaign coming from the West?

The government didn't anticipate that problem, Dr. Tinuga said ruefully. The rumors were tough to counter in a population with a limited understanding of research or scientific evidence.

The Covid pandemic further complicated the HPV campaign as it disrupted health systems, forced school closures and created new levels of vaccine hesitancy.

"Parents pull kids out of school when they hear the vaccination is coming," said Khalila Mbowe, who directs the Tanzania office of Girl Effect, a nongovernmental organization funded by Gavi to drum up demand for the vaccine. "After Covid, issues about vaccination are supercharged."

Girl Effect produced a radio drama, slick posters, chat bots and social media campaigns urging girls to get the shot. But that effort and others in Tanzania have concentrated on motivating girls to accept the vaccine, without sufficiently factoring in the power other gatekeepers, including religious leaders and school officials, who have a strong voice in the decision, Ms. Mbowe said.

Asia Shomari, 16, was spooked the day the health workers came to her school on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam last year. The students hadn't been briefed and didn't know what the shot was for. It was an Islamic school where no one ever talked about sex, Ms. Shomari said. She hid behind a toilet block with some friends until the nurses left.

"Most of us decided to run," she said. When she went home and recounted what happened, her mother said she had done the right thing: Any vaccine that had to do with reproductive organs was suspect.

But now, her mother, Pili Abdallah, has begun to reconsider. "Girls her age, they are sexually active, and there is a lot of cancer," she said. "If she could be protected, it would be good."

From top: Quinn Chengo, front right, a Tanzanian student who received the human papillomavirus vaccine; Asia Shomari, right, didn't get it but her mother, Pili Abdallah, left, thinks that maybe Asia should be vaccinated; and Dr. Florian Tinuga, a Tanzanian health official, said rumors were an unanticipated challenge to vaccinating the country's girls against the virus, which causes cervical cancer.

While Girl Effect aimed some messages at mothers, the truth is that fathers have the final say in most families, Ms. Mbowe said. "The decision-making power doesn't rest with the girl," she said.

Despite the challenges, Tanzania inoculated nearly three-quarters of its 14-year-old girls in 2021 with a first dose. (It reached that target for first-dose coverage twice as fast as the United States.) It has been harder to persuade people to return for a second dose: Only 57 percent got the second shot six months later. A similar gap has persisted in most sub-Saharan countries that have started HPV vaccination.

Since Tanzania has largely relied on school pop-up clinics to deliver the shots, some girls miss the second dose because they have left school by the time the health workers come back.

Rahma Said was vaccinated at school in 2019, when she was 14. But not long after, she failed to pass the exams to move up to secondary school and dropped out. Ms. Said tried a couple of times to get a second shot at public health clinics in her neighborhood, but none had the vaccine, and last year, she said, she gave up.

Next year, Tanzania will most likely switch to a single-dose regimen, Dr. Tinuga said. There is growing evidence that a single shot of the HPV vaccine will produce adequate protection, and in 2022 the World Health Organization recommended that countries switch to a one-dose campaign, which would improve costs and vaccine supply, and remove this challenge of trying to inoculate girls a second time.

Another cost-saving step, public health experts say, would be to move from school-based vaccination to making the HPV shot one of the routine vaccines offered at health centers. Making that shift will take a huge and sustained public education effort.

"We have to make sure demand is very, very strong because they're not typically going to come to facilities for other interventions," Ms. Nguyen of Gavi said.

Now, at last, supply of the vaccine has built up, Ms. Nguyen said, and new versions of the shot have come to the market from companies in China, India and Indonesia. Supply is expected to triple by 2025.

Populous countries like Indonesia, Nigeria, India, Ethiopia and Bangladesh are planning to introduce or expand use of the vaccine this year, which may challenge even the expanded supply. But the hope is that there will soon be sufficient doses for countries to be able to vaccinate all girls between 9 and 14, Ms. Nguyen said. Once they are caught up, the vaccine will become routine for 9-year-olds.

"We've set the target of 86 million girls by the end of 2025," she said. "That will be 1.4 million deaths averted."

Ms. Chengo and her friends were convulsed by giggles at the mere mention of sex, but they said that in fact, many girls in their grade were already sexually active, and that it would be better when Tanzania was able to vaccinate girls at age 9.

"Eleven is too late," said Restuta Chunja, with a somber shake of her head.

Ms. Chengo, a sparkly-eyed 13-year-old who intends to be a pilot when she finishes school, said that her mother told her the vaccine would protect her from cancer, but that she shouldn't get any ideas.

"She said I shouldn't get married or be involved in any sexual activities, because that would be bad and you might get something like H.I.V."

The HPV vaccine is offered to boys as well as girls in high-income countries, but the W.H.O. advises prioritizing girls in developing countries with the existing vaccine supply because women get 90 percent of HPV-related cancers.

"From a Gavi perspective, we're not there yet, to add boys," Ms. Nguyen said.

'Parents pull kids out of school when they hear the vaccination is coming.'

KHALILA MBOWE
GIRL EFFECT

Dr. Mary Rose Giattas, a cervical cancer expert who is the medical director in Tanzania for Jhpiego, a health care nonprofit affiliated with Johns Hopkins University, believes any remaining hesitancy can be overcome. When she educates the public about the shot, she talks about Australia.

"I say, forget the rumors: Australia has almost eliminated cervical cancer," Dr. Giattas said. "And why? Because they vaccinate. And if the vaccine caused a problem with fertility, we would know about it because they were one of the first countries to use it."

Misconceptions can be resolved with "chewable pieces" of evidence, she said. "I say, our health ministry takes serious steps to test medicines: They don't come right from Europe to your clinic. I say to women, 'Unfortunately, you and I missed it because of our age, but I wish I could be vaccinated now.'"

In a Colombian Region, A Disease's Forgotten

CONTINUED FROM PAGE D1

Nohora Esther's delicate wrists.

The disease is relatively rare, but in the late 1980s a Colombian neurologist, Jorge Daza, began observing a striking number of cases in the region where Ms. Vásquez lives, a cluster of seaside and mountain towns near Barranquilla. Around the same time, American scientists led by Nancy Wexler were working with an even larger family with Huntington's in neighboring Venezuela, gathering and studying thousands of tissue samples from them to identify the genetic mutation responsible.

This Colombian region is now thought to house the second-largest extended family with Huntington's. Its members are of intense scientific interest because they hold clues to genetic modifiers of, and potential treatments for, Huntington's disease. Yet since Dr. Daza's untimely death in 2014, they have been cut off from a world of promising experimental treatments, genetic counseling and often basic medical care. Ms. Vásquez, like others in her generation, occasionally calls the disease by its 16th-century name, San Vito, or St. Vitus's dance.

The family members tend to come from the poorest segments of this coastal society: people who fish, clean beachside hotels or farm. Universities and health officials have shown up intermittently to take their blood samples, but no definitive epidemiological, clinical or genetic studies have been published. Few if any at-risk individuals know whether they are mutation carriers. Scientists are now trying to do better by them, hoping it's not too late.

'Like Starting From Zero'

In recent years, a group of researchers at the Universidad Simón Bolívar, in Barranquilla, have taken on the daunting task of rekindling clinical and genetic studies that stalled after the death of their colleague Dr. Daza. It felt, said neuropsychologist Johan Acosta, who is leading the effort, "like starting from zero."

Out in the towns and villages, the investigators found the Huntington's families wary and tired. Almost everyone reported having had a blood sample taken in the past and being confused as to what it had been used for. Events organized by the researchers were poorly attended, so "we had to look for people in their homes, to establish more direct contact," said Elsy Mejía, a neuropsychologist.

The group's project, which is sponsored by the Colombian government, focuses on the subtlest, non-motor symptoms of the disease. Investigators conduct clinical evaluations and brain imaging in early symptomatic or pre-symptomatic people, as well as in noncarriers with family histories of Huntington's. DNA has now been collected from nearly 300 individuals, through which scientists hope to identify genetic links to early symptom patterns.

The researchers have promised to share findings from their studies with the family members, as well as results from clinical evaluations, although they cannot disclose genetic test results; that must wait until counseling is established. They offer help securing medicines and conduct daylong clinics in which any family member can see a doctor, for any reason.

In 2021, the team produced a primer on the disease and its history in the region, aimed at local health professionals who in many cases know little about it. They hope that the university will soon take part in Enroll-HD, a global platform to study people with Huntington's disease and facilitate clinical trials.

They also know that if they — or other researchers — drop the ball with the family members, all will be lost. "This is not just science, this is social science," said Pedro Puentes, a neuropsychologist and the leader of the research group. "People expect something" in return for what they've given, he added. "And as you can see, nothing really has been done for them."

Mari and Julieta

Julieta Echeverría, 23, raises two young boys in a home perched over a sandy creek into which people toss refuse, as there are no roads fit for a garbage truck. The roof and walls of her house are badly cracked; one bedroom must be evacuated when it rains.

For months last year, Ms. Echeverría and her husband, a fisherman, nursed her bachelor uncle Nelson Echeverría through the end stages of Huntington's disease. Her parents, who are farmers, could not care for Nelson because her father is also ill, although he has yet to see a neurologist. With hands now too unsteady to milk his cows, he survives on his wife's sales of eggs.

In the nearby town of Juan de Acosta, Mari Echeverría, 22, recounted an almost parallel existence to that of Julieta, her first cousin. (The two are also first cousins of José and Nohora Esther.) Last year, as Julieta bathed her uncle, played music to cheer him up and fed him Ensure through a syringe, Mari was doing the same for her mother, who died one month after Nelson. Mari, like Julieta, was caring for a baby and a toddler at the time.

Mari was a teenager when her mother's illness began, at age 42. Those were the days when Dr. Daza still came around in his van with drugs and reassurances. Both Mari's mother and Nelson lived out the rest of their illnesses largely without standard medications, such as tetrabenazine to control movements and psychiatric drugs to calm emotions and promote sleep.

Mari's mother, a kind and curious woman before her illness, would at times get hold of a knife and throw it.

When Mari's mother developed a fever, in her last weeks of life, Mari took her to a hospital in Barranquilla, where doctors did not recognize her symptoms, nor had they heard of her disease. "I had to write it out for them on the computer," she recalled. "They asked me, 'What treatment does your mother take?' And I said, 'What do I know about treatment?'"

Unlike their older relatives, who recall a time when the disease was hidden, denied or attributed to other causes, Julieta and Mari grew up aware that they each have a 50 percent likelihood of developing Huntington's by midlife. Both opted to have children, with partners who understood that risk.

Julieta views the specter of Huntington's with a certain resignation. "There are worse ways to die," she said. But both she and Mari are taking part in the Universidad Simón Bolívar study. They also participate in events sponsored by Factor H, a Huntington's charity active in Colombia and Venezuela that strives to connect researchers with families.

"We want to lose this lack of trust that exists between vulnerable communities and the doctors," said Ignacio Muñoz-Sanjuan, the founder of Factor H and the chief executive of Cajal Neurocience, a Seattle-based drug-discovery company. "And for the clinicians and researchers to understand there are human beings behind what they are trying to do."

A Health Care Catch-22

The CHDI Foundation in Princeton, N.J., a nonprofit group that supports Huntington's drug research globally, is increasingly active in Latin America. One reason is genetics. "We have found a number of so-called modifiers among the European population, and these are targets for new drugs," said Dr. Cristina Sampaio, CHDI's chief medical officer. In Latin America, she added, "we might find other genes that influence how the disease progresses. These modifiers could become targets."

Another reason is an abundance of younger, still-asymptomatic people. CHDI runs Enroll-HD, a global observational study of people with Huntington's disease. Although most of its 25,000 participants so far have had advanced disease, "we have a really big scientific need to study people very early in the disease process," Dr. Sampaio said. "Latin America may provide a place where we can find more of them, and these are the people who have the best opportunity to benefit from treatment."

Enroll-HD cannot work in Venezuela, because of political obstacles, a degraded health infrastructure and extreme poverty. Even in Colombia, where much of the population receives quality health care, huge disparities persist. The investigators at Universidad Simón Bolívar are eager to take part in Enroll-HD, but it remains to be worked out who can be studied under the platform.

"In these villages, you have roads that are bad — doctors aren't available," said Dr. Sampaio, who visited last year. "We cannot do studies in populations that do not have access to minimal standards of care. So this might be a Catch-22 type situation. Engaging them in research raises ethical concerns, but if they were enrolled, their access to care would improve." For now, Dr. Sampaio said, Enroll-HD plans to work only with people who live in Barranquilla or who have the wherewithal to get there.

Dr. Muñoz-Sanjuan of Factor H said he was optimistic that, with effort, conditions could be improved enough to allow people like Mari and Julieta to someday join a clinical trial.

"The obstacle on the coast has been fragmented efforts without a holistic approach," he said. "People want help from a clinical and social perspective; we need access to people to develop better therapies. These two things have to be connected."

Maripaz

Gepsy Ariza, 34, does not know how her family is related to others around the region, just that they are a Huntington's family. A pensive young woman, she, too, recounts the experience of caring for an ailing mother, of Dr. Daza and his medicines, and of giving her blood to some neurology students, only to be told later that the samples had been lost.

In the dusty beach town where she lives, a short drive from Barranquilla yet a universe away from its comforts, Ms. Ariza helps look after her sister, Maripaz Ariza. At only 30, Maripaz has hands that fan and twist like a Balinese dancer's, a wavering voice, and a stiff, awkward gait.

Maripaz's symptoms emerged seven years ago, when she was pregnant with her daughter. The disease first manifested as an emotional crisis, Gepsy recalls. When Maripaz was in the hospital, waiting to give birth, she ran outside in a panic, upset that her child would be a girl, not the boy she had hoped for. Staff members called in social workers to investigate before allowing her to see her newborn.

The family history of Huntington's was never explored. Maripaz was diagnosed with psychosis. Her behavior has grown more childlike as her motor symptoms have progressed, making her seem more like a friend than a parent to her little girl. When Maripaz first became sick, her uncle took Maripaz and her daughter into his home. He later died from Huntington's, and now his widow looks after both.

Little is known about Huntington's disease and pregnancy, so rare are the cases in the scientific literature. Seven years into her illness, Maripaz still has not seen a neurologist.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHARLIE CORDERO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Above, José Echevarría being helped to bed at home in Piojó, Colombia. Below left, his chair, damaged by years of his involuntary movements. Below right, Nelson Echeverría's funeral last year, led by Julieta Echeverría, center, at the cemetery in Juan de Acosta.

Above, Mari Echeverría, with her daughter, cared for her mother starting at 16. Below left, Maripaz Ariza has become more childlike as her symptoms have progressed. Below right, capsules of valproic acid are used to treat the disease's behavioral symptoms.

Juan de Acosta's cemetery, the final resting place for generations of Huntington's patients on Colombia's Caribbean coast.

Well

Ask Well

I've heard that tongue scraping is good for your oral health and can prevent bad breath. Is that true? And why?

Tongue scraping involves using a tool to remove a white or yellowish coating that sometimes forms on the tongue. This is the result of buildup from food debris, dead skin cells and bacteria, said Dr. Martinna Bertolini, an assistant professor of dental medicine at the University of Pittsburgh School of Dental Medicine.

"The tongue is the only tissue in the entire body that has papillae," Dr. Bertolini said, referring to the tiny bumps that help your tongue grip food as you eat and that sometimes contain taste buds. These papillae, as well as the grooves some people have in their tongues, create little pockets where buildup can accumulate.

Tongue scrapers are designed to scrape off that discolored, often smelly coating. Typically made of stainless steel, silicone or plastic, they come in a few styles. They usually involve gripping one end of the tool while you press the other end down your tongue as you scrape.

Buildup on the tongue smells bad because bacterial colonies can live there, said Ananda P. Dasanayake, a professor of epidemiology at the New York University College of Dentistry. Some of these bacteria produce gases that are "really very stinky," he said, adding, "that's one reason people get halitosis," or persistent bad breath.

ERIC HELGAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Halitosis is the main reason a dentist might recommend tongue scraping, said Isabelle Laleman, a periodontist at CHU de Liège, a university hospital in Belgium. Treatments for bad breath are fairly limited, she said. People can use a mouthwash, like Listerine, but it will only mask the smell. Scraping off the source of that odor is "the best thing we have" for bad breath, Dr. Laleman said.

Few studies have been done on the effectiveness of tongue scraping for reducing bad breath and bacterial counts, and their results have been mixed. One review, published in 2010, found that tongue scraping and tongue brushing could improve breath odor and reduce the coating on the tongue.

Other studies, including one that Dr. Laleman co-wrote and published in 2017, found that among 18 patients with periodontitis — a serious form of gum disease — tongue scraping made no difference in the amount of bacteria or odor in their mouths (though patients said they felt their tongues were cleaner).

If your breath does improve with tongue scraping, Dr. Bertolini said it's important to note that those benefits will be temporary. "If you don't do this daily, it comes back," she said.

Dr. Bertolini said she would recommend tongue scraping only to patients with halitosis, because they're the only ones who really need it. If you have a history of gum disease, it is a good idea to keep the amount of bacteria in your mouth as low as possible, so tongue scraping could, in theory, be useful, she added. But if you are healthy and do not have halitosis, you won't be worse off by not tongue scraping.

Nevertheless, Dr. Bertolini and Dr. Dasanayake scrape their tongues after brushing their teeth, which is twice a day for Dr. Bertolini and after every meal for Dr. Dasanayake. Dr. Laleman scrapes her tongue only when she feels her breath is bad, she acknowledged, but said that people should try it if they want to.

There are no risks associated with tongue scraping. The only potential downside: scraping too roughly and hurting your tongue, Dr. Bertolini said.

Using a tongue scraper is fairly intuitive, Dr. Dasanayake said. It's a simple raking motion, requiring at least three or four sweeps to cover the entire tongue. He prefers tongue scrapers with serrated edges that allow you to really get into the grooves of your tongue.

If you don't want to buy a tongue scraper, you could use a spoon, Dr. Laleman said. It's shaped similarly, but it might be harder to reach the back areas of the tongue with one.

Some people ask if they can use a toothbrush, but Dr. Bertolini doesn't recommend it. For one thing, "the gag reflex is worse," she said, while noting that some studies suggest that toothbrushes aren't as effective as tongue scrapers at cleaning the tongue.

"I don't really see a downside" to trying tongue scraping, Dr. Bertolini said. If you're curious, tongue scrapers are available at many drugstores and are relatively inexpensive. You might experience subtle changes to your breath over time or simply enjoy the feeling of a cleaner tongue. And if nothing else, you may find it's a nice addition to your routine.

HANNAH SEO

OUMAYMA BEN TANFOUS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tips and Untruths About Eyesight

Are carrots good for your eyes? Is blue light bad? Some experts weigh in.

By HANNAH SEO

If you were ever scolded as a child for reading in the dark, or if you have used blue-light-blocking glasses when working on a computer, you might have incorrect ideas about eye health.

About four in 10 adults in the United States are at high risk for vision loss, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. But many eye conditions are treatable or preventable, said Dr. Joshua Ehrlich, an assistant professor of ophthalmology and visual sciences at the University of Michigan. Here are nine common beliefs people have about eye health, and what experts have to say.

READING A BOOK OR LOOKING AT AN ELECTRONIC DEVICE UP CLOSE IS BAD.

TRUE Our eyes are not meant to focus on objects close to our face for long periods of time, said Dr. Xiaoying Zhu, an associate clinical professor of optometry and the lead myopia researcher at SUNY College of Optometry in New York City. When we do, especially as children, it encourages the eyeball to lengthen, which over time can cause nearsightedness, or myopia.

To help reduce the strain on your eyes, Dr. Zhu recommends following the 20-20-20 rule: After every 20 minutes of close reading, look at something at least 20 feet away for at least 20 seconds.

READING IN THE DARK CAN WORSEN YOUR EYESIGHT.

FALSE However, if the lighting is so dim that you need to hold your book or tablet close to your face, that can increase the risks mentioned above and create eyestrain, which can cause soreness around the eyes and temples, headache and difficulty concentrating. But these are usually temporary symptoms, Dr. Zhu said.

SPENDING MORE TIME OUTSIDE HELPS EYESIGHT.

TRUE Some research (mostly focused on children) suggests that outdoor time can reduce the risk of developing myopia, said Maria Liu, an associate professor of clinical optometry at the University of California, Berkeley. Experts don't fully understand why this is, but some research suggests that bright sunlight may encourage the retina to produce dopamine, which discourages eye lengthening (though these experiments have mostly been conducted with animals, Dr. Zhu said).

TOO MUCH ULTRAVIOLET LIGHT CAN HARM EYESIGHT.

TRUE There is a reason experts say not to stare at the sun. Too much exposure to ultraviolet A and B rays in sunlight can "cause irreversible damage" to the retina, Dr. Ehrlich said. This can also increase your risk of developing cataracts, he said.

Too much UV light exposure can also increase the risk for developing cancers in the eye, Dr. Ehrlich said — though this risk is low. Wearing sunglasses, glasses or contacts that block UV rays can offer protection.

TAKING A BREAK FROM WEARING GLASSES CAN PREVENT YOUR EYESIGHT FROM GETTING WORSE.

FALSE Some patients who need glasses tell Safal Khanal, an assistant professor in optometry and vision science at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, that they don't wear their glasses all the time because they think it will make their condition worse. "That's not true," he said. If you need glasses, you should wear them.

EVEN A LITTLE BLUE LIGHT FROM SCREENS IS DAMAGING TO YOUR EYES.

FALSE While some research has found that exposure to blue light can damage the retina and potentially cause vision problems over time, no solid evidence has confirmed that this happens with typical exposures in humans, Dr. Ehrlich said. There's also no evidence that wearing blue-light-blocking glasses will improve eye health, he added.

But screens can be bad for eyesight in the other ways described above, including by causing dry eyes, Dr. Zhu said. "When we stare at a screen, we just don't blink as often as we should," she said, and that can cause eyestrain and temporary blurred vision.

SMOKING IS BAD FOR EYE HEALTH.

TRUE A 2011 C.D.C. study linked smoking with self-reported age-related eye diseases in older adults, including cataracts and age-related macular degeneration, a disease where part of the retina breaks down and blurs your vision. Toxic chemicals in cigarettes enter your bloodstream and damage sensitive tissues in the eyes including the retina, lens and macula, Dr. Khanal said.

CARROTS ARE GOOD FOR YOUR EYES.

TRUE While a diet full of carrots won't give you perfect vision, some evidence suggests that the nutrients in them are good for eye health. One large clinical trial, for instance, found that supplements containing nutrients found in carrots, including antioxidants like beta-carotene and vitamins C and E, could slow the progression of age-related macular degeneration.

Following an antioxidant-rich diet won't necessarily prevent an eye disease from occurring, but it can be helpful "particularly for people with early macular degeneration," Dr. Ehrlich said.

WORSENING EYESIGHT IS AN INEVITABLE PART OF AGING.

FALSE Most causes of declining eyesight in adulthood — including age-related macular degeneration, cataracts and glaucoma — are preventable or treatable if you catch them early, Dr. Ehrlich said. If your vision is starting to wane, don't dismiss it as "just aging," he added. Seeing an optometrist or ophthalmologist right away (or regularly, every year) will give you the best chance of staving off these conditions, he said.

A New Option for Treating Hot Flashes

Veozah, a nonhormonal drug, is effective against a signature symptom of menopause.

By ALISHA HARIDASANI GUPTA

The Food and Drug Administration has approved a new nonhormonal oral drug, under the brand name Veozah, designed to treat menopausal hot flashes. The drug provides women with a "safe and effective treatment option," Dr. Janet Maynard, director of the F.D.A. Office of Rare Diseases, Pediatrics, Urologic and Reproductive Medicine, said in a statement.

Hot flashes, also called vasomotor symptoms, affect roughly 75 percent of menopausal and perimenopausal American women. A large body of evidence suggests that this symptom, in which a woman feels suddenly and overwhelmingly hot, can have a serious impact on quality of life and productivity. Studies have found that Black women suffer from more severe and frequent hot flashes for longer durations.

Yet there have been few safe and effective treatment options for hot flashes, said Dr. Stephanie Faubion, medical director for the North American Menopause Society and a director of the Mayo Clinic Center for Women's Health. Hormone therapy is the most effective treatment for women under the age of 60 but it presents risks for women with certain health conditions. Misconceptions about it, which are largely rooted in a study from 2002 that has since been challenged, steered many other women away from it, she said.

There is only one other nonhormonal treatment that has been shown to effectively manage hot flashes. It is paroxetine, which is primarily used to treat depression but was approved by the F.D.A. to be used for menopause symptoms too.

Decades of limited treatment options created a gaping "unmet need," making Veozah, which is produced by the Japanese pharmaceutical company Astellas, both groundbreaking and long overdue, said Dr. Lauren Streicher, a clinical professor of obstetrics and gynecology at Northwestern University and medical director of the Northwestern Medicine Center for Menopause.

"When you think about the impact of vasomotor symptoms on work, on cognitive function, on sleep, on quality of life, the availability of another option is exciting," she said. "This is something we've been anticipating for a long time."

About a decade ago, researchers identified neurons in the brain, known as KNDy neurons, that regulate body temperature, and found that those neurons were primarily controlled by estrogen. When women transition to menopause and their estrogen levels fall, "these neurons go into overdrive," Dr. Streicher said, perceiving the body to be hotter than it is and thus setting off a cascade of events to cool the body down, like sweating.

Veozah contains a compound called fezolinetant, which binds to those neurons and "calms them down," Dr. Streicher said.

Astellas conducted three trials for Veozah at test sites in Canada, the United States and countries in Europe and collectively involved over 3,000 women who had moderate or severe hot flashes. Compared with a placebo, the drug significantly reduced the severity and frequency of hot flashes for women who took one pill a day.

GETTY IMAGES

Hot flashes, which affect about 75 percent of menopausal and perimenopausal American women, set off a cascade of events to cool the body down.

Many women taking the drug reported a difference by Week 4. In some cases, said Dr. Nanette Santoro, a professor of obstetrics and gynecology at University of Colorado School of Medicine, who was a scientific adviser for Astellas during trials of the drug, women reported feeling a difference in a week.

There are still no studies comparing the efficacy of fezolinetant with that of estrogen — which can reduce frequency of hot flashes by 75 percent, Dr. Faubion said — but it seems to be more effective than paroxetine.

The trial included women age 40 to 65 and the drug was effective across those age groups. But it might be particularly helpful for women over 60 because at that age, starting hormonal treatments can be considered risky, making it "potentially a very, very good option" for those women, said Dr. Streicher, who was not involved with the study but reviewed its findings.

"The other thing that's nice about the clinical trials is they had a good cross-section of women: Black women, Asian women, Latina women," she said. "And it worked just as well in Black women as in white women; that's huge."

One of the main concerns going into the trial was liver toxicity. Similar versions of the drug produced by other companies found that to be a major side effect and those trials were discontinued, Dr. Santoro said.

Across the drug's three trials, 25 women showed elevated liver enzymes, according to the F.D.A.'s safety statement. For this reason, women with known liver damage should avoid the drug and the F.D.A. recommends doing blood work before starting the medication to screen for liver damage. It is also not safe for patients with known kidney failure or kidney disease.

There are "still a lot of unknowns" about the drug, Dr. Faubion said, particularly any effects on "heart health, bone health, sexual health, mood symptoms or weight." That, she added, is difficult to gauge fully until the drug is on the market and used by more people for longer durations. Only estrogen, Dr. Faubion noted, has been shown to provide other long-term health benefits beyond mitigating hot flashes.

The company has said that the product will be available in pharmacies soon and will cost $550 for a 30-day supply.

That price is prohibitively expensive, Dr. Faubion said, and may not be covered by insurance companies. "This needs to be affordable so women can really utilize it," she said.

Well

Easing the Pain Of Tennis Elbow

The condition is not caused just by racket swings, and it can be stubborn.

By AMANDA LOUDIN

Now that warm weather is here to stay, many Americans are getting back into their favorite outdoor sports and starting home projects. Which means, among other things, the annual uptick in tennis elbow.

It starts with a persistent, localized pain on the outside of your elbow (or inside, in the case of the closely related golf elbow), and slowly gets more debilitating. It can happen to you even if you've never picked up a racket or club. While up to 50 percent of tennis players develop it each year, lateral epicondylitis, as it's known to experts, is one of the most common upper-body repetitive stress injuries.

Causes run the gamut but may include using a hammer for extended periods of time, painting, softball, weight lifting and even gardening. Or it could be a combination of triggers.

Research shows that people over 40 are most susceptible, as are smokers, people with obesity and those who engage in repetitive motion for at least two hours a day. If you suspect that you're dealing with tennis or golf elbow, there are ways to heal, return to activity and hopefully keep the pain at bay in the future.

Both tennis and golf elbow are overuse injuries that stem from damage to the muscles and tendons running from the wrist to the elbow. If used too much, and if you do not have enough strength in your shoulder muscles and core, microscopic tears can develop in the tendon where it attaches to the elbow, causing both pain and inflammation.

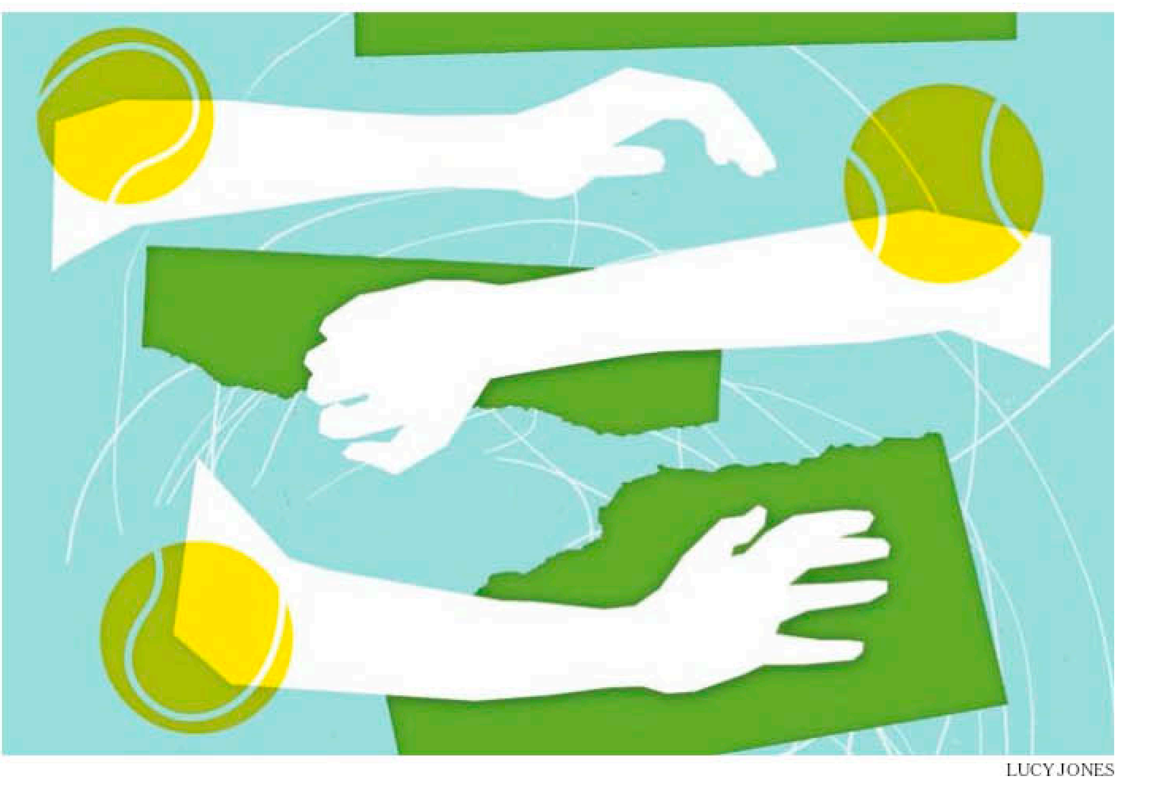
The first sign that you might have the condition is pain near the elbow, said Theresa Marko, a doctor of physical therapy based in New York City and a spokeswoman for the American Physical Therapy Association. "You might also feel a tightness in your forearm muscles," she said. "Sometimes you'll feel a clicking or a 'catching' sensation, or you can't straighten your elbow entirely."

Pain was Melanie Madden's first indication that something was amiss two years ago. "I had been playing tennis for about three months when I first noticed it," said Ms. Madden, a 45-year-old Boulder, Colo., real estate agent. "At the time, I had a new dog and was frequently throwing the ball for him, practicing yoga and playing some golf. I kind of ignored the pain and hoped for the best."

Before long, the pain was waking up Ms. Madden in the middle of the night, and it hurt to pick up a cup of coffee.

Managing the condition when it starts can shorten the time it takes to overcome the pain. "It can be a stubborn injury," said Dr. Marci Goolsby, a sports medicine physician and director of the Women's Sports Medicine Center at the Hospital for Special Surgery in New York.

The first lines of defense against golf or tennis elbow should be to identify the activities causing it. "If you've had a sudden increase in your pickleball play, for instance, scale back," Dr. Marko said. If you catch it early enough, reducing the time spent on the aggravating injury may be enough. If not, stop it altogether until you've made progress with rehab exercises.



LUCY JONES

This can be tricky because many simple daily activities — time on a phone, household chores like sweeping, sewing or even washing dishes — can aggravate the injury.

Next, experts recommend icing and anti-inflammatories and wearing a "tennis elbow" strap, which provides compression at the point of pain (though some studies have found that the effect may be psychological). Some experts also suggest a wrist immobilization brace for severe pain, as it prevents you from extending your wrist in the manner that causes pain at the elbow. You can also try to gently massage on the top of the forearm, with hand facing down, one to two inches below the elbow, Dr. Marko said.

In most cases, she said, the root of the problem, however, is a lack of strength in your shoulder area. "Right away, you can start doing some shoulder and rotator cuff exercises," she said.

One to try is shoulder external rotation: Lie on your unaffected side, with a rolled-up towel resting between your upper arm and your torso. Bending your top arm at the elbow, lower it toward your stomach and back again, repeating 15 times for three sets. You can also add in simple shoulder-blade squeezes while standing or sitting, repeating 15 times for three sets. With time and as you start to feel better, you can include weights or resistance bands.

One joint's problem could be caused by another's. Start by strengthening your shoulder muscles.

"However, if the elbow is hurting, gripping a weight will be painful," Dr. Marko said. "What I do is place an ankle weight around a person's wrist and have them relax their hand as they perform the movements of the side-lying exercises."

From there, consider a full home exercise program from the American Academy of Orthopaedic Surgeons.

If you're not making progress, a physical therapist can manually help loosen the joint and develop a personalized strengthening program. They can also put your arm through motions to assess your readiness to return to your sport or activity.

Some physicians might recommend alternative approaches, such as platelet rich plasma, shock wave therapy, dry needling or a corticosteroid injection, but their efficacy is unproven — as is ingesting copious amounts of gelatin, in spite of what friends or social media may tell you.

Ms. Madden first dropped tennis from her routine. When that wasn't enough, she ceased the other aggravating movements too, such as throwing the ball for her dog and doing yoga. "I found someone who specialized in wrist and elbows and saw him twice a week for about six weeks," she said.

As you begin to heal, try testing your elbow in small increments of your sport or activity, letting pain be your guide. If, however, you've tried resting for several weeks and working with a physical therapist but experience no improvement, it's worth a visit to an orthopedic specialist, said Dr. Robert Parisien, an orthopedic surgeon at Mount Sinai Health System in New York City.

"Not because we'll suggest surgery, but to consider other treatments," he said. "There's about a 95 percent success rate with a combination of treatments."

What Ultraprocessed Foods Can Do to the Brain

Scientists are still looking at why these products have been associated with anxiety.

By SALLY WADYKA

JESS EBSWORTH

Roughly 60 percent of the calories in the average American diet come from highly processed foods. We've known for decades that eating such packaged products, like some breakfast cereals, snack bars, frozen meals and virtually all packaged sweets, among many other things, is linked to unwelcome health outcomes like an increased risk of diabetes, obesity and even cancer. But more recent studies point to another major downside to these often delicious, always convenient foods: They appear to have a significant effect on our minds, too.

Research from the past 10 or so years has shown that the more ultraprocessed foods a person eats, the higher the chances that they feel depressed and anxious. A few studies have suggested a link between eating UPFs and increased risk of cognitive decline.

What's so insidious about these foods, and how can you avoid the mental fallout? Scientists are still working on answers, but here's what we know so far.

Which Items Qualify?

In 2009, Brazilian researchers put food on a four-part scale, from unprocessed and minimally processed (like fruits, vegetables, rice and flour) to processed (oils, butter, sugar, dairy products, some canned foods, and smoked meats and fish) and ultraprocessed. "Ultraprocessed foods include ingredients that are rarely used in homemade recipes, such as high-fructose corn syrup, hydrogenated oils, protein isolates and chemical additives" like colors, artificial flavors, sweeteners, emulsifiers and preservatives, said Eurídice Martínez Steele, a researcher in food processing at University of São Paulo in Brazil. This classification system is now used widely by nutrition researchers.

UPFs make up a majority of the packaged foods you find in the frozen food aisles at grocery stores and on the menu at fast-food restaurants — 70 percent of the packaged foods sold in the United States are considered ultraprocessed. They're increasingly edging out healthier foods in people's diets and are widely consumed across socioeconomic groups.

"Ultraprocessed foods are carefully formulated to be so palatable and satisfying that they're almost addictive," said Dr. Eric M. Hecht, an epidemiologist at the Schmidt College of Medicine at Florida Atlantic University. "The problem is that in order to make the products taste better and better, manufacturers make them less and less like real food."

The Effect on Mental Health

Recent research has demonstrated a link between highly processed foods and low mood. In one 2022 study of over 10,000 adults in the United States, the more UPFs participants ate, the more likely they were to report mild depression or feelings of anxiety. "There was a significant increase in mentally unhealthy days for those eating 60 percent or more of their calories from UPFs," Dr. Hecht, the study's author, said. "This is not proof of causation, but we can say that there seems to be an association."

New research has also found a connection between high UPF consumption and cognitive decline. A 2022 study that followed nearly 11,000 Brazilian adults over a decade found a correlation between eating ultraprocessed foods and worse cognitive function (the ability to learn, remember, reason and solve problems). "While we have a natural decline in these abilities with age, we saw that this decline accelerated by 28 percent in people who consume more than 20 percent of their calories from UPFs," said Natalia Gomes Goncalves, a postdoctoral researcher at the University of São Paulo Medical School and the lead author of the study.

It's possible that eating a healthy diet may offset the detrimental effects of eating ultraprocessed foods. The Brazilian researchers found that following a healthy eating regimen, like the MIND diet — rich in whole grains, green leafy vegetables, legumes, nuts, berries, fish, chicken and olive oil — greatly reduced the dementia risk associated with consuming ultraprocessed foods. Those who followed the MIND diet but still ate UPFs "had no association between UPF consumption and cognitive decline," Dr. Goncalves said, adding that researchers still don't know what a safe quantity of UPFs is.

It's unclear why ultraprocessed foods might have this effect. "Many high-quality, randomized studies have shown the beneficial effect of a nutrient-dense diet on depression, but we still do not fully understand the role of food processing on mental health," said Melissa Lane, a researcher at the Food & Mood Centre at Deakin University in Australia. However, there are some clues.

'Diet does influence mood, but the reverse is also true. When you get stressed, anxious or depressed, you tend to eat more unhealthy foods.'

DR. FRANK HU
HARVARD T.H. CHAN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

Much of the research has focused on how poor gut health might affect the brain. Diets that are high in ultraprocessed foods are typically low in fiber, which is mostly found in plant-based foods like whole grains, fruits, vegetables, nuts and seeds. Fiber helps feed the good bacteria in the gut. Fiber is also necessary for the production of short-chain fatty acids, the substances produced when it breaks down in the digestive system, and which play an important role in brain function, said Wolfgang Marx, the president of the International Society for Nutritional Psychiatry Research and a senior research fellow at Deakin University. "We know that people with depression and other mental disorders have a less diverse composition of gut bacteria and fewer short-chain fatty acids."

Chemical additives in UPFs might also have an impact on gut flora. "Emerging evidence, mostly from animal studies, but also some human data, suggests that isolated nutrients" (like fructose), "additives such as artificial sweeteners" (like aspartame and saccharin) "or emulsifiers" (like carboxymethylcellulose and polysorbate-80) "can negatively influence the gut microbiome," Dr. Marx said.

Poor gut microbiota diversity, as well as a diet high in sugar, may contribute to chronic inflammation, which has been linked to a host of mental and physical issues, Dr. Lane said. "Interactions between increased inflammation and the brain are thought to drive the development of depression," she said.

It's also worth considering the possibility that the link between highly processed foods and mental health works in both directions. "Diet does influence mood, but the reverse is also true," said Dr. Frank Hu, a professor of nutrition and epidemiology at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. "When you get stressed, anxious or depressed, you tend to eat more unhealthy foods, in particular ultraprocessed foods that are high in sugar, fat and chemical additives."

Identifying Ultraprocessed Foods

The best way to identify ultraprocessed foods is to read product labels. "A long list of ingredients, and especially one that includes ingredients you would never use in home cooking," is a clue that the food is ultraprocessed, said Whitney Linsenmeyer, an assistant professor of nutrition at Saint Louis University in Missouri and a spokeswoman for the Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics. Chemical names, unpronounceable words and anything you would be unlikely to find in a kitchen cabinet are often signs that a food is in the ultraprocessed category.

You can still use convenience foods to make cooking easier without resorting to ultraprocessed foods. Products such as canned beans, frozen vegetables, precooked brown rice or canned fish are all shortcut ingredients that fit well within the scope of a healthy diet, provided there aren't any industrial items on the ingredient list. "If the added ingredients are ones you would use yourself, like herbs, spices, salt or cooking oils," Dr. Linsenmeyer said, "that's an indication that the food, while processed, is not inherently bad for you."

What's the Next Number? This Database Knows.

Celebrating an encyclopedia of integer sequences that has 362,765 entries. So far.

By SIOBHAN ROBERTS

Some numbers are odd: *1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15.* Some are even: *2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16.* And then there are the puzzling "eban" numbers: *2, 4, 6, 30, 32, 34, 36, 40* and so on. What number comes next? And why?

These are questions that Neil Sloane, a mathematician of Highland Park, N.J., loves to ask. Dr. Sloane is the founder of the On-Line Encyclopedia of Integer Sequences, a database of 362,765 (and counting) number sequences defined by a precise rule or property. Such as the prime numbers, like *2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 13, 17, 19.*

Or the Fibonacci numbers — every term (starting with the third term) is the sum of the two preceding numbers: *0, 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13* and so on.

This year the OEIS, which has been praised as "the master index to mathematics" and "a mathematical equivalent to the F.B.I.'s voluminous fingerprint files," celebrates its 50th anniversary. The original collection, "A Handbook of Integer Sequences," appeared in 1973 and contained 2,372 entries. In 1995, it became an "encyclopedia," with 5,487 sequences and an additional author, Simon Plouffe, a mathematician in Quebec. A year later, the collection had doubled in size again, so Dr. Sloane put it on the internet.

"In a sense, every sequence is a puzzle," Dr. Sloane said in a recent interview. He added that the puzzle aspect was incidental to the database's main purpose: to organize all mathematical knowledge.

Sequences found in the wild — in mathematics, but also quantum physics, genetics, communications, astronomy and elsewhere — can be puzzling for numerous reasons. Looking up these entities in the OEIS, or adding them to the database, sometimes leads to enlightenment and discovery.

"It's a source of unexpected results," said Lara Pudwell, a mathematician at Valparaiso University in Indiana and a member of the OEIS Foundation's board of trustees. Dr. Pudwell writes algorithms to solve counting problems. A few years ago, thus engaged, she entered into the OEIS search box a sequence that arose while studying numerical patterns: *2, 4, 12, 20, 38, 56, 88* and so on.

The only result that popped up pertained to chemistry: specifically, to the periodic table and the atomic numbers of the alkaline earth metals. "I found this perplexing," Dr. Pudwell said. She consulted with chemists and soon "realized there were interesting chemical structures to work with to explain the connection."

Sequence serendipity provides what Russ Cox, a software engineer at Google, called "amazing cross-connective tissue for the sciences." Dr. Cox, based in Cambridge, Mass., is the president of the OEIS board. He submitted his first sequence, which emerged from a programming contest puzzle, as a high-school student in 1996. He has twice rewritten the software for the database, which he thinks of as "the collective wisdom of math and science in this interesting numerical form."

Donald Knuth, a computer scientist at Stanford, known for his analysis of algorithms, among other things, has also chanced upon breakthroughs. Working on a new problem, he always searches the OEIS. "It finds my bedfellows," he said. "The beautiful thing is that you can compute your way into the literature."

Numerical Punch Line

Searching the database for "puzzle" produces more than 1,700 results. Some entries describe physical puzzles, such as the Rubik's cube and its "God's Number," the maximum number of turns needed to solve a scrambled cube: 11 for a 2 × 2 × 2 cube, 20 for the classic 3 × 3 × 3 cube. Beyond that — say, for the 4 × 4 × 4 Rubik's Revenge — God's Number is uncertain, making for a short sequence thus far: 0, 11, 20.

"We have bounds on God's number for 4 × 4 × 4, but they're very loose," Erik Demaine, a computer scientist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said in an email. "We know it's between 31 and 16,777,214."

The OEIS is long on sequences that tease and land like a joke — like the eban sequence, invented by Dr. Sloane. "It's very, very simple," he said. "And yet nobody ever guesses it."

More terms are not necessarily helpful: *2, 4, 6, 30, 32, 34, 36, 40, 42, 44, 46, 50, 52, 54, 56, 60, 62, 64, 66, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2030* and so on.

The punch line of the eban numbers is that the letter "e" is banned: This sequence contains no numbers that, when the numbers are spelled, contain the letter "e."

"Eban sounds a bit like 'even,' and it's a very nice pun," Dr. Sloane said — because if you look at numbers without an "e," they are all even. "This is an old theorem of mine: that every odd number has an 'e' in it, in English. And so all the numbers where 'e' is banned are even. Of course, not all even numbers are eban, but enough are to make a good sequence."

JASPER JOHNS/COLAIMAGES, VIA ALAMY

Above, "Numbers in Color" (1959) by Jasper Johns. The On-Line Encyclopedia of Integer Sequences is celebrating its 50th anniversary. "Every sequence is a puzzle," said Neil Sloane, the founder of the database.

Dr. Sloane first went looking for a sequence in 1964, as a graduate student. Studying paths in an artificial neural network (a mathematical system mimicking the human brain), his computations generated a sequence that began *0, 1, 8, 78, 944, 13800.*

"I badly needed a formula for the nth term in order to determine the rate of growth of the terms," he wrote in a retrospective published in April. "This would indicate how long the activity in this very simple neural network would persist." Hunting through textbooks, reference books, journals, he came close, but no sequence. Eventually, together with the combinatorialist John Riordan, he figured out the formula, and the next term: 237,432.

Along the way, Dr. Sloane recorded sequences on file cards, then on punched cards. "These were never called 'punch cards'," he wrote. "To anyone who worked with them in the 1960s, 'punch cards' sounds like 'grill cheese' for 'grilled cheese.'"

Once online in 1995, it dominated his home page on the website of AT&T Labs, where he worked for 43 years. In 2010, it became a moderated wiki and now is run by about 170 international volunteer editors who wrangle 50 or more new submissions a day. The OEIS Foundation recently announced an endowment campaign to fund a full-time managing editor.

Dr. Sloane's signature lecture on the subject is titled "Confessions of a Sequence Addict." And he showcases his favorite sequences on Numberphile, an educational math YouTube channel, ever asking "What number comes next?" with the likes of this procession: *1, 4, 8, 48, 88, 488* and so on.

The best way to puzzle it out is to "stare at these numbers," he advised. "Look at the number 8. What do you see?"

"Well, you see '8,' but more important you see two holes," he said. "When you look at 48, you see three holes; 88 has four holes in it; 4 has one hole."

"And 1 has no holes in it. So, the definition of this sequence is: The smallest positive number that has 'n' holes in it." (That is, assuming an enclosed "4" and a "2" with no closed loop.)

A Sisyphean Task

Among Dr. Sloane's current favorites is the Sisyphus sequence, devised in 2022 by Éric Angelini, a journalist and amateur mathematician in Brussels, and his sometime accomplice, Carole Dubois, of Toulouse, France: *1, 3, 6, 3, 8, 4, 2, 1* and so on.

'It's a source of unexpected results.'
LARA PUDWELL
VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY

The Sisyphus rule: If the number is even, divide by two. If the number is odd, add the smallest prime number not yet added. The first term, 1, is odd, so adding the smallest prime number, 2, gives 3; 3 is odd, so adding the next prime, 3, gives 6; 6 is even, so dividing by two gives 3, and so on.

"Now here's the interesting question," Dr. Sloane said: Some numbers appear more than once, but does every number appear at least once? "We don't know," he said.

The number 36 was stubborn — it was still absent after the sequence had been computed to a billion terms. This was "really worrying," Dr. Sloane said. "It would be like a flaw in the universe, if 36 was missing."

At the end of an OEIS board meeting last year, Dr. Sloane, the chairman, asked if there was any further business, and since there wasn't, he explained how Sisyphus was stuck. He asked the assembled experts, "Does 36 ever appear in this beautiful sequence?" Two hours later, Dr. Cox found it at the far reaches of 77 billion terms — the 7,7534,485,877th term lands on 36.

While still pondering Sisyphus, Dr. Sloane is also — always — keeping tabs on any number of consequential developments and discoveries. Mr. Angelini called him a "puzzle chaser." Dr. Sloane admitted to being a "sequence chaser." And when not in hot pursuit, he is working on his book, "The Joy of Seqs."

Solve the Sequences

Here are a few to try. The answers are below.

A 0, 1, 8, 11, 69, 88, 96, 101 . . .

B 1, 11, 21, 1211, 111221, 312211 . . .

C 5, 8, 12, 18, 24, 30, 36, 42 . . .

D 14, 18, 23, 28, 34, 42, 50 . . .

Answers

A 111. These are the "strobogrammatic" numbers — the same upside-down, or rotated 180 degrees (not flipped along the horizontal axis).

B 13112221. This is the "Look and Say" sequence: At the first term, 1, you describe what you see — one 1 — so the next term is 11. At the second term (11) you again describe what you see — two 1s — so the next term is 21. Describing that — one 2 and one 1 — results in the next term, 1211, and so on.

C 52. The sums of two consecutive primes.

D 59. The numbered stops on the 1 train in Manhattan.